THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

VOL. III.

THE

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OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

By WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D. D.
Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and Historiographer to his Majesty for Scotland.

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THE

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EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK V.

Book V. 1527.

General indignation excited against the Emperor.

THE account of the cruel manner in which the Pope had been treated, filled all Europe with aſtoniſhment or horror. To ſee a Chriſtian Emperor, who, by poſſeſſing that dignity, ought to have been the protector and advocate of the holy ſee, lay violent hands on him who repreſented Chriſt on earth, and detain his ſacred perſon in a rigorous captivity, was conſidered as an impiety that merited the ſevereſt vengeance, and which called for the immediate interpoſition of every dutiful ſon of the church. Francis and Henry, alarmed at the progreſs of the Imperial arms in Italy, had, even before the taking of Rome, entered into a

Book V. 1527. a closer alliance; and, in order to give some check to the Emperor's ambition, had agreed to make a vigorous diversion in the Low-Countries. The force of every motive which had influenced them at that time, was now increased; and to these were added, the desire of rescuing the Pope out of the Emperor's hands, a measure no less political, than it appeared to be pious. This, however, rendered it necessary to abandon their designs on the Low-Countries, and to make Italy the seat of war, as it was by vigorous operations in that country, they might promise most certainly upon delivering Rome, and setting Clement at liberty. Francis being now sensible, that, in his system with regard to the affairs of Italy, the spirit of refinement had carried him too far; and that, by an excess of remissness, he had allowed Charles to attain advantages which he might easily have prevented, was eager to make reparation for an error of which he was not often guilty, by an activity more suitable to his temper. Henry thought his interposition necessary, in order to hinder the Emperor from becoming master of all Italy, and acquiring by that means such superiority of power, as would enable him, for the future, to dictate without controul to the other princes of Europe. Wolsey, whom Francis had taken care to secure by flattery and presents, the certain methods of gaining his favour, neglected nothing

nothing that could incenſe his maſter againſt the Emperor. Beſides all theſe public conſiderations, Henry was influenced by one of a more private nature; having begun about this time to form his great ſcheme of divorcing Catherine of Aragon, towards the execution of which he knew that the ſanction of Papal authority would be neceſſary, he was deſirous to acquire as much merit as poſſible with Clement, by appearing to be the chief inſtrument of his deliverance.

Confederacy againſt him. July 11.

THE negociation, between princes thus diſpoſed, was not tedious. Wolſey himſelf conducted it, on the part of his ſovereign, with unbounded powers. Francis treated with him in perſon at Amiens, where the Cardinal appeared, and was received with royal magnificence. A marriage between the duke of Orleans and the princeſs Mary was agreed to as the baſis of the confederacy; it was reſolved that Italy ſhould be the theatre of war; the ſtrength of the army which ſhould take the field, as well as the contingent of troops or of money which each prince ſhould furniſh, were ſettled; and if the Emperor did not accept of the propoſals they were jointly to make him, they bound themſelves immediately to declare war, and to begin hoſtilities. Henry, who took every reſolution with impetuoſity, entered ſo eagerly into this new alliance, that in order to give

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Francis the ſtrongeſt proof of his friendſhip and reſpect, he formally renounced the ancient claim of the Engliſh Monarchs to the crown of France, which had long been the pride and ruin of the nation; as a full compenſation for which, he accepted a penſion of fifty thouſand crowns, to be paid annually to himſelf and his ſucceſſors [a].

The Florentines recover their freedom.

MEANWHILE the Pope, being unable to fulfil the conditions of his capitulation, remained a priſoner under the ſevere cuſtody of Alarcon. The Florentines no ſooner heard of what had happened at Rome, than they ran to arms in a tumultuous manner; expelled the Cardinal di Cortona, who governed their city in the Pope's name; defaced the arms of the Medici; broke in pieces the ſtatues of Leo and Clement; and declaring themſelves a free ſtate, re-eſtabliſhed their ancient popular government. The Venetians, taking advantage of the calamity of their ally the Pope, ſeized Ravenna, and other places belonging to the church, under pretext of keeping them in depoſite. The dukes of Urbino and Ferrara laid hold likewiſe on part of the ſpoils of the unfortunate Pontiff, whom they conſidered as irretrievably ruined [b].

[a] Herbert, 83, &c. Rym. Fœder. 14, 203.
[b] Guic. l. 18. 453.

LANNOY,

1527.

The Imperial troops inactive.

Lannoy, on the other hand, laboured to derive ſome ſolid benefit from that unforeſeen event, which gave ſuch ſplendour and ſuperiority to his maſter's arms. For this purpoſe he marched to Rome, together with Moncada, and the marquis del Guaſto, at the head of all the troops which they could aſſemble in the kingdom of Naples. The arrival of this reinforcement brought new calamities on the unhappy citizens of Rome; for the ſoldiers envying the wealth of their companions, imitated their licence, and with the utmoſt rapacity gathered the gleanings, which had eſcaped the avarice of the Spaniards and Germans. There was not now any army in Italy capable of making head againſt the Imperialiſts; and nothing more was requiſite to reduce Bologna, and the other towns in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, than to have appeared before them. But the ſoldiers having been ſo long accuſtomed, under Bourbon, to an entire relaxation of diſcipline, and having taſted the ſweets of living at diſcretion in a great city, almoſt without the controul of a ſuperior, were become ſo impatient of military ſubordination, and ſo averſe to ſervice, that they refuſed to leave Rome, unleſs all their arrears were paid; a condition which they knew to be impoſſible. At the ſame time, they declared, that they would not obey any other perſon than the prince of Orange, whom the army had choſen general.

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Lannoy, finding that it was no longer safe for him to remain among licentious troops, who despised his dignity, and hated his person, returned to Naples; soon after the marquis del Guasto and Moncada thought it prudent to quit Rome for the same reason. The prince of Orange, a general only in name, and by the most precarious of all tenures, the good will of soldiers whom success and licence had rendered capricious, was obliged to pay more attention to their humors, than they did to his commands. Thus the Emperor, instead of reaping any of the advantages which he might have expected from the reduction of Rome, had the mortification to see the most formidable body of troops that he had ever brought into the field, continue in a state of inactivity from which it was impossible to rouze them [c].

The French army marches into Italy.

This gave the King of France and the Venetians leisure to form new schemes, and to enter into new engagements for delivering the Pope, and preserving the liberties of Italy. The newly restored republic of Florence very imprudently joined with them, and Lautrec, of whose abilities the Italians entertained a much more favourable opinion than his own master, was, in order to gratify them, appointed gene-

[c] Guic. l. 18. 454.

ralissimo

raliſſimo of the league. It was with the utmoſt reluctance he undertook that office, being unwilling to expoſe himſelf a ſecond time to the difficulties and diſgraces which the negligence of the King, or the malice of his favourites might bring upon him. The beſt troops in France marched under his command, and the King of England, though he had not yet declared war againſt the Emperor, advanced a conſiderable ſum towards carrying on the expedition. Lautrec's firſt operations were prudent, vigorous, and ſucceſsful. By the aſſiſtance of Andrew Doria, the ableſt ſea officer of that age, he rendered himſelf maſter of Genoa, and re-eſtabliſhed in that republic the faction of the Fregoſi, together with the dominion of France. He obliged Alexandria to ſurrender after a ſhort ſiege, and reduced all the country on that ſide of the Teſino. He took Pavia, which had ſo long reſiſted the arms of his ſovereign, by aſſault, and plundered it with that cruelty which the memory of the fatal diſaſter that had befallen the French nation before its walls naturally inſpired. All the Milaneſe, which Antonio de Leyva defended with a ſmall body of troops, kept together, and ſupported by his own addreſs and induſtry, muſt have ſoon ſubmitted to his power, if he had continued to bend the force of his arms againſt that country. But Lautrec durſt not complete a conqueſt which would

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His operations.

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have been ſo honourable to himſelf, and of ſuch advantage to the league. Francis knew his confederates to be more deſirous of circumſcribing the Imperial power in Italy, than of acquiring new territories for him, and was afraid that if Sforza were once re-eſtabliſhed in Milan, they would ſecond but coldly the attack which he intended to make on the kingdom of Naples. For this reaſon he inſtructed Lautrec not to puſh his operations with too much vigour in Lombardy; and happily the importunities of the Pope, and the ſolicitations of the Florentines, the one for relief, and the other for protection, were ſo urgent as afforded him a decent pretext to march forward without yielding to the intreaties of the Venetians and Sforza, who inſiſted on his laying ſiege to Milan [d].

The Emperor ſets the Pope at liberty.

While Lautrec advanced ſlowly towards Rome, the Emperor had time to deliberate concerning the diſpoſal of the Pope's perſon, who ſtill remained a priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo. Notwithſtanding the ſpecious veil of religion with which he uſually endeavoured to cover his actions, Charles in many inſtances appears to have been but little under the influence of religious conſiderations, and had frequently on this occaſion expreſſed an inclina-

[d] Guic. l. xviii. 461. Bellay, 107, &c. Mauroc. Hiſt. Venet. lib. iii. 238.

tion to transport the Pope into Spain, that he might indulge his ambition with the spectacle of the two most illustrious personages in Europe successively prisoners in his court. But the fear of giving new offence to all Christendom, and of filling his own subjects with horror, obliged him to forego that satisfaction [e]. The progress of the confederates made it now necessary either to set the Pope at liberty, or to remove him to some place of confinement more secure than the castle of St. Angelo. Many considerations induced him to prefer the former, particularly his want of the money requisite as well for recruiting his army, as for paying off the vast arrears due to it. In order to obtain this he had assembled the Cortes of Castile at Valladolid about the beginning of the year, and having laid before them the state of his affairs, and represented the necessity of making great preparations to resist the enemies, whom envy at the success which had crowned his arms would unite against him, he demanded a large supply in the most pressing terms. But the Cortes, as the nation was already exhausted by extraordinary donatives, refused to load it with any new burden, and in spite of all his endeavours to gain or to intimidate the members, persisted in this resolution [f]. No resource, therefore, remained but the extorting Feb. 11.

[e] Guic. l. 18, 457. [f] Sandov. i. p. 814.

from

Book V. 1527. from Clement, by way of ranſom, a ſum ſufficient for diſcharging what was due to his troops, without which it was vain to mention to them their leaving Rome.

Nor was the Pope inactive on his part, or his intrigues unſucceſsful towards haſtening ſuch a treaty. By flattery, and the appearance of unbounded confidence, he diſarmed the reſentment of the cardinal Colonna, and wrought upon his vanity, which made him deſirous of ſhewing the world, that as his power had at firſt depreſſed the Pope, it could now raiſe him to his former dignity. By favours and promiſes he gained Moronè, who, by one of thoſe whimſical revolutions which occur ſo often in his life, and which ſo ſtrongly diſplay his character, had now recovered his credit and authority with the Imperialiſts. The addreſs and influence of two ſuch men eaſily removed all the obſtacles which retarded an accommodation, and brought to a concluſion the treaty for Clement's liberty, upon conditions hard indeed, but not more intolerable than a prince in his ſituation had reaſon to expect. He was obliged to advance in ready money an hundred thouſand crowns for the uſe of the army; to pay the ſame ſum at the diſtance of a fortnight; and at the end of three months, an hundred and fifty thouſand more. He engaged not to take part in the war againſt Charles, either

either in Lombardy or in Naples; he granted him a cruzado, and the tenth of ecclesiastical revenues in Spain; and he not only gave hostages, but put the Emperor in possession of several towns, as a security for the performance of these articles [g]. Having raised the first moiety by a sale of ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, and other expedients equally uncanonical, a day was fixed for delivering him from imprisonment. But Clement, impatient to be free, after a tedious confinement of six months, as well as full of the suspicion and distrust natural to the unfortunate, was so much afraid that the Imperialists might still throw in obstacles to put off his deliverance, that he disguised himself the preceding night in the habit of a merchant, and Alarcon having remitted somewhat of his vigilance upon the conclusion of the treaty, he made his escape undiscovered. He arrived before next morning, without any attendants but a single officer, at Orvieto; and from thence wrote a letter of thanks to Lautrec, as the chief instrument of procuring him liberty [h].

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Decem. 6.

During these transactions, the ambassadors of France and England repaired to Spain, in consequence of the treaty which Wolsey had concluded

Overtures of the Emperor to Francis and Henry.

[g] Guic. l. 18. 467, &c.

[h] Guic. l. 18. 467, &c. Jov. Vit. Colon. 169. Mauroc. Hist. Venet. lib. iii. 252.

Book V. 1527. concluded with the French King. The Emperor, unwilling to draw on himſelf the united forces of the two Monarchs, diſcovered an inclination to relax ſomewhat the rigour of the treaty of Madrid, to which, hitherto, he had adhered inflexibly. He offered to accept of the two millions of crowns which Francis had propoſed to pay as an equivalent for the dutchy of Burgundy, and to ſet his ſons at liberty on condition that he would recal his army out of Italy, and reſtore Genoa together with the other conqueſts which he had made in that country. With regard to Sforza, he inſiſted that his fate ſhould be determined by the judges appointed to enquire into his crimes. Theſe propoſitions being made to Henry, he tranſmitted them to his ally the French King, whom it more nearly concerned to examine, and to anſwer them; and if Francis had been ſincerely ſolicitous either to conclude peace, or preſerve conſiſtency in his own conduct, he ought inſtantly to have cloſed with overtures which differed but little from the propoſitions which he himſelf had formerly made [i]. But his views were now much changed; his alliance with Henry; Lautrec's progreſs in Italy, and the ſuperiority of his army there above that of the Emperor, hardly left him room to doubt of the ſucceſs of his enterprize

[i] Recueil des Traitez, 2. 249.

againſt

againſt Naples. Full of theſe ſanguine hopes, he was at no loſs to find pretexts for rejecting or evading what the Emperor had propoſed. Under the appearance of ſympathy with Sforza, for whoſe intereſts he had not hitherto diſcovered much ſolicitude, he again demanded the full and unconditional re-eſtabliſhment of that unfortunate prince in his dominions. Under colour of its being imprudent to rely on the Emperor's ſincerity, he inſiſted that his ſons ſhould be ſet at liberty before the French troops left Italy, or ſurrendered Genoa. The unreaſonableneſs of theſe demands, as well as the reproachful inſinuation with which they were accompanied, irritated Charles to ſuch a degree that he could ſcarcely liſten to them with patience; and repenting of his moderation, which had made ſo little impreſſion on his enemies, declared that he would not depart in the ſmalleſt article from the conditions which he had now offered. Upon this the French and Engliſh ambaſſadors, for Henry had been drawn unaccountably to concur with Francis in theſe ſtrange propoſitions, demanded and obtained their audience of leave[k]. 1527.

Next day, two heralds, who had accompanied the ambaſſadors of purpoſe, though they had hitherto concealed their character, having 1528. January 22.

[k] Rym. 14. 200. Herbert 85. Guic. l. 18. 471.

aſſumed

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They declare war against the Emperor.

assumed the ensigns of their office, appeared in the Emperor's court, and being admitted into his presence, they, in the name of their respective masters, and with all the solemnities customary on such occasions, denounced war against him. Charles received both with a dignity suitable to his own rank, but spoke to each in a tone adapted to the sentiments which he entertained of their sovereigns. He accepted the defiance of the English Monarch with a firmness tempered by some degree of decency and respect. His reply to the French King abounded with that acrimony of expression, which personal rivalship, exasperated by the memory of many injuries inflicted as well as suffered, naturally suggests. He desired the French herald to acquaint his sovereign, that he would henceforth consider him not only as a base violator of public faith, but as a stranger to the honor and integrity becoming a gentleman. Francis, too high-spirited to bear such an imputation, had recourse to an uncommon expedient in order to vindicate his character. He instantly sent back the herald with a *cartel* of defiance, in which he gave the Emperor the lie in form, challenged him to single combat, requiring him to name the time and place of the encounter, and the weapons with which he chose to fight. Charles, as he was not inferior to his rival in spirit or bravery, readily accepted the challenge; but after several messages

Francis challenges the Emperor to single combat.

messages concerning the arrangement of all the circumstances relative to the combat, accompanied with mutual reproaches, bordering on the most indecent scurrility, all thoughts of this duel, more becoming the heroes of romance than the two greatest Monarchs of their age, were entirely laid aside[1].

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The effect of this in promoting the custom of duelling.

THE example of two personages so illustrious drew such general attention, and carried with it so much authority, that it had considerable influence in introducing an important change in manners all over Europe. Duels, as has already been observed, had long been permitted by the laws of all the European nations, and forming a part of their jurisprudence, were authorized by the magistrate on many occasions as the most proper method of terminating questions with regard to property, or of deciding in those which respected crimes. But single combats being considered as solemn appeals to the omniscience and justice of the supreme Being, they were allowed only in public causes, according to the prescription of law, and carried on in a judicial form. Men accustomed to this manner of decision in courts of justice, were naturally led to apply it to personal and private quarrels. Duels, which at first could be appointed by the

[1] Recueil des Traitez, 2. Mem. de Bellay, 103, &c. Sandov. Hist. 1. 837.

civil

Book V. 1528. civil judge alone, were fought without the interposition of his authority, and in cases to which the laws did not extend. The transaction between Charles and Francis strongly countenanced this practice. Upon every affront, or injury which seemed to touch his honour, a gentleman thought himself entitled to draw his sword, and to call on his adversary to make reparation. Such an opinion introduced among men of fierce courage, of high spirit, and of rude manners, when offence was often given, and revenge was always prompt, produced most fatal consequences. Much of the best blood in Christendom was shed; many useful lives were sacrificed; and at some periods, war itself hath hardly been more destructive than these contests of honour. So powerful, however, is the dominion of fashion, that neither the terror of penal laws, nor reverence for religion, have been able entirely to abolish a practice unknown among the ancients, and not justifiable by any principle of reason; though at the same time it must be admitted, that, to this absurd custom, we must ascribe in some degree the extraordinary gentleness and complaisance of modern manners, and that respectful attention of one man to another, which, at present, render the social intercourses of life far more agreeable and decent than among the most civilized nations of antiquity.

WHILE the two Monarchs feemed fo eager to terminate their quarrel by a perfonal combat, Lautrec continued his operations which promifed to be more decifive. His army, which was now increafed to thirty-five thoufand men, advanced by great marches towards Naples. The terror of their approach, as well as the remonftrances and the entreaties of the prince of Orange, prevailed at laft on the Imperial troops, though with difficulty, to quit Rome, of which they had kept poffeffion during ten months. But of that flourifhing army which had entered the city, fcarcely one half remained; the reft, cut off by the plague, or wafted by difeafes, the effects of their inactivity, intemperance, and debauchery, fell victims to their own crimes [m]. Lautrec made the greateft efforts to attack them in their retreat towards the Neapolitan territories, which would have finifhed the war at one blow. But the prudence of their leaders difappointed all his meafures, and conducted them with little lofs to Naples. The people of that kingdom, extremely impatient to fhake off the Spanifh yoke, received the French with open arms, wherever they appeared to take poffeffion; and, Gaeta and Naples excepted, hardly any place of importance remained in the hands of the Imperialifts. The prefer-

1528. Retreat of the Imperialifts from Rome. February.

[m] Guic. l. xviii. 478.

Book V. 1528. French besiege Naples.

vation of the former was owing to the ſtrength of its fortifications, that of the latter to the preſence of the Imperial army. Lautrec, however, ſat down before Naples, but finding it vain to think of reducing a city by force while defended by ſo many troops, he was obliged to employ the ſlower, but leſs dangerous method of blockade; and having taken meaſures which appeared to him effectual, he confidently aſſured his maſter, that famine would ſoon compel the beſieged to capitulate. Theſe hopes were ſtrongly confirmed by the defeat of a vigorous attempt made by the enemy in order to recover the command of the ſea. The gallies of Andrew Doria, under the command of his nephew Philippino, guarded the mouth of the harbour. Moncada, who had ſucceeded Lannoy in the vice-royalty, rigged out a number of gallies ſuperior to Doria's, manned them with a choſen body of Spaniſh veterans, and going on board himſelf, together with the marquis del Guaſto, attacked Doria before the arrival of the Venetian and French fleets. But Doria, by his ſuperior ſkill in naval operations, eaſily triumphed over the valour and number of the Spaniards. The viceroy was killed, moſt of his fleet deſtroyed, and Guaſto, with many officers of diſtinction being taken priſoners, were put on board the captive gallies, and ſent by Philippino, as trophies of his victory, to his uncle [n].

[n] Guic. l. xix. 487. P. Heuter. lib. x. c. 2. p. 231.

BUT

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Circumstances which retard the progress of it.

But notwithstanding this flattering prospect of success, many circumstances concurred to frustrate Lautrec's expectations. Clement, though he always acknowledged his being indebted to Francis for the recovery of his liberty, and often complained of the cruel treatment which he had met with from the Emperor, was not influenced at this juncture by principles of gratitude, nor, which is more extraordinary, was he swayed by the desire of revenge. His past misfortunes rendered him more cautious than ever, and his recollection of the errors which he had committed, increased the natural irresolution of his mind. While he amused Francis with promises, he secretly negociated with Charles; and being solicitous, above all things, to re-establish his family in Florence with their ancient authority, which he could not expect from Francis, who had entered into strict alliance with the new republic, he leaned rather towards the side of his enemy than that of his benefactor, and gave Lautrec no assistance towards carrying on his operations. The Venetians, viewing with jealousy the progress of the French arms, were intent only upon recovering such maritime towns in the Neapolitan dominions as were to be possessed by their republic, while they were altogether careless about the reduction of Naples, on which the success of the common

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cause depended [o]. The King of England, instead of being able, as had been projected, to embarrass the Emperor by attacking his territories in the Low-Countries, found his subjects so averse to an unnecessary war, which would have ruined the trade of the nation, that in order to silence their clamours, and put a stop to the insurrections ready to break out among them, he was compelled to conclude a truce for eight months with the governess of the Netherlands [p]. Francis himself, with the same unpardonable inattention of which he had formerly been guilty, and for which he had suffered so severely, neglected to make proper remittances to Lautrec for the support of his army [q].

Revolt of Andrew Doria from France.

THESE unexpected events retarded the progress of the French, and discouraged both the general and his troops; but the revolt of Andrew Doria proved a fatal blow to all their measures. That gallant officer, the citizen of a republic, and trained up from his infancy in the sea-service, retained the spirit of independence natural to the former, together with the plain liberal manners peculiar to the latter. A perfect stranger to the arts of submission or flattery necessary in courts, but conscious at the same time of his own merit and importance, he al-

[o] Guic. l. xix. 491. [p] Herbert, 90. Rymer, 14. 258.
[q] Guic. l. xviii. 478.

ways

ways offered his advice with freedom, and often preferred his complaints and remonstrances with boldness. The French ministers, unaccustomed to such liberties, determined to ruin a man who treated them with so little deference; and though Francis himself had a just sense of Doria's services, as well as an high esteem for his character, the courtiers, by continually representing him as a man haughty, intractable, and more solicitous to aggrandize himself, than to promote the interest of France, gradually undermined the foundations of his credit, and filled the King's mind with suspicion and distrust. From thence proceeded several affronts and indignities put upon Doria. His appointments were not regularly paid; his advice, even in naval affairs, was often slighted; an attempt was made to seize the prisoners taken by his nephew in the sea-fight off Naples; all which he bore with abundance of ill-humour. But an injury offered to his country, transported him beyond all bounds of patience. The French began to fortify Savona, to clear its harbour, and, removing thither some branches of trade carried on at Genoa, plainly shewed that they intended to render that town, long the object of jealousy and hatred to the Genoese, their rival in wealth and commerce. Doria, animated with a patriotic zeal for the honour and interest of his country, remonstrated against this in the highest

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Book V. 1528. highest tone, not without threats, if the meaſure were not inſtantly abandoned. This bold action, aggravated by the malice of the courtiers, and placed in the moſt odious light, irritated Francis to ſuch a degree, that he commanded Barbeſieux, whom he appointed admiral of the Levant, to ſail directly to Genoa with the French fleet, to arreſt Doria, and to ſeize his gallies. This raſh order, the execution of which could have been ſecured only by the moſt profound ſecrecy, was concealed with ſo little care, that Doria got timely intelligence of it, and retired with all his gallies to a place of ſafety. Guaſto, his priſoner, who had long obſerved and fomented his growing diſcontent, and had often allured him by magnificent promiſes to enter into the Emperor's ſervice, laid hold on this favourable opportunity. While his indignation and reſentment were at their height, he prevailed on him to diſpatch one of his officers to the Imperial court with his overtures and demands. The negociation was not long; Charles, fully ſenſible of the importance of ſuch an acquiſition, granted him whatever terms he required. Doria ſent back his commiſſion, together with the collar of St. Michael, to Francis, and hoiſting the Imperial colours, ſailed with all his gallies towards Naples, not to block up the harbour of that unhappy city as he had formerly engaged,

gaged, but to bring them protection and deliverance.

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Wretched situation of the French army before Naples.

His arrival opened the communication with the sea, and restored plenty in Naples, which was now reduced to the last extremity; and the French, having lost their superiority at sea, were soon reduced to great straits for want of provisions. The prince of Orange, who succeeded the viceroy in the command of the Imperial army, shewed himself by his prudent conduct worthy of that honour which his good fortune and the death of his generals had twice acquired him. Beloved by the troops, who remembering the prosperity which they had enjoyed under his command, served him with the utmost alacrity, he let slip no opportunity of harassing the enemy, and by continual alarms or sallies, fatigued and weakened them[r]. As an addition to all these misfortunes, the diseases common in that country during the sultry months, began to break out among the French troops. The prisoners communicated to them the pestilence which the Imperial army had brought to Naples from Rome, and it raged with such violence, that few, either officers or soldiers, escaped the infection. Of the whole army, not four thousand men, a number hardly sufficient to defend the camp,

[r] Jovii Hist. lib. xxxvi. p. 31, &c. Sigonii Vita Doriæ, p. 1139. Bellay, 114, &c.

Book V. 1528.

camp, were capable of doing duty [s]; and being now beſieged in their turn, they ſuffered all the miſeries from which the Imperialiſts were delivered. Lautrec, after ſtruggling long with ſo many diſappointments and calamities, which preyed on his mind at the ſame time that the

Aug. 15.

peſtilence waſted his body, died, lamenting the negligence of his ſovereign, and the infidelity of his allies, to which ſo many brave men had fallen victims [t]. By his death, and the indiſpoſition of the other generals, the command devolved on the marquis de Saluces, an officer

Raiſe the ſiege.

altogether unequal to ſuch a truſt. He, with troops no leſs diſpirited than reduced, retreated in diſorder to Averſa; which town being inveſted by the prince of Orange, Saluces was under the neceſſity of conſenting, that he himſelf ſhould remain a priſoner of war, that his troops ſhould lay down their arms and colours, give up their baggage, and march under a guard to the frontiers of France. By this ignominious capitulation, the wretched remains of the French army were ſaved; and the Emperor, by his own perſeverance and the good conduct of his generals, acquired once more the ſuperiority in Italy [u].

[s] Bellay, 117, &c.

[t] P. Heuter. Rerum Auſtr. lib. x. c. 2. 231.

[u] Bellay, 117, &c. Jovii. Hiſt. lib. xxv, xxvi.

THE

1528.

Genoa recovers its liberty.

THE loss of Genoa followed immediately upon the ruin of the army in Naples. To deliver his country from the dominion of foreigners was Doria's highest ambition, and had been his principal inducement to quit the service of France, and enter into that of the Emperor. A most favourable opportunity for executing this honourable enterprize now presented itself. The city of Genoa, afflicted by the pestilence, was almost deserted by its inhabitants; the French garrison being neither regularly paid nor recruited, was reduced to an inconsiderable number; Doria's emissaries found that such of the citizens as remained, being weary alike of the French and Imperial yoke, the rigour of which they had alternately felt, were ready to welcome him as their deliverer, and to second all his measures. Things wearing this promising aspect, he sailed towards the coast of Genoa; on his approach the French gallies retired; a small body of men which he landed, surprized one of the gates of Genoa in the night-time; Trivulci, the French governor, with his feeble garrison, shut himself up in the citadel, and Doria took possession of the town without bloodshed or resistance. Want of provisions quickly obliged Trivulci to capitulate; the people, eager to abolish such an odious monument of their servitude, ran together with a tumultuos violence, and levelled the citadel with the ground. Sept. 12.

IT

Book V. 1528. Diſintereſted conduct of Doria.

It was now in Doria's power to have rendered himſelf the ſovereign of his country, which he had ſo happily delivered from oppreſſion. The fame of his former actions, the ſucceſs of his preſent attempt, the attachment of his friends, the gratitude of his countrymen, together with the ſupport of the Emperor, all conſpired to facilitate his attaining the ſupreme authority, and invited him to lay hold of it. But with a magnanimity of which there are few examples, he ſacrificed all thoughts of aggrandizing himſelf to the virtuous ſatisfaction of eſtabliſhing liberty in his country, the higheſt object at which ambition can aim. Having aſſembled the whole body of the people in the court before his palace, he aſſured them, that the happineſs of ſeeing them once more in poſſeſſion of freedom, was to him a full reward for all his ſervices; that, more delighted with the name of citizen than of ſovereign, he claimed no pre-eminence or power above his equals; but remitted entirely to them the right of ſettling what form of government they would now chuſe to be eſtabliſhed among them. The people liſtened to him with tears of admiration, and of joy. Twelve perſons were elected to new-model the conſtitution of the republic. The influence of Doria's virtue and example, communicated itſelf to his countrymen; the factions which had long torn and ruined the ſtate, ſeemed to be forgotten;

ten; prudent precautions were taken to prevent their reviving; and the same form of government which hath subsisted with little variation since that time in Genoa, was established with universal applause. Doria lived to a great age, beloved, respected, and honoured by his countrymen; and adhering uniformly to his professions of moderation, without arrogating any thing unbecoming a private citizen, he preserved a great ascendant over the councils of the republic, which owed its being to his generosity. The authority which he possessed was more flattering, as well as more satisfactory, than that derived from sovereignty; a dominion founded in love and in gratitude; and upheld by veneration for his virtues, not by the dread of his power. His memory is still reverenced by the Genoese, and he is distinguished in their public monuments, and celebrated in the works of their historians, by the most honourable of all appellations, THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, AND THE RESTORER OF ITS LIBERTY [x].

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1529. Operations in the Milanese.

FRANCIS, in order to recover the reputation of his arms, discredited by so many losses, made new efforts in the Milanese. But the Count of St. Pol, a rash and unexperienced officer, to

[x] Guic. l. xix. p. 498. Sigonii Vita Doriæ, p. 1146. Jovii Hist. lib. xxvi. p. 36, &c.

Book V. 1529.

whom he gave the command, was no match for Antonio de Leyva, the ableſt of the Imperial generals. He, by his ſuperior ſkill in war, checked, with a handful of men, the briſk but ill concerted motions of the French; and though ſo infirm himſelf that he was carried conſtantly in a litter, he ſurpaſſed them, when occaſion required, no leſs in activity than in prudence. By an unexpected march he ſurprized, defeated, and took the Count of St. Pol, ruining the French army in the Milaneſe as entirely as the prince of Orange had ruined that which beſieged Naples [y].

Negociations between Charles and Francis.

Amidst theſe vigorous operations in the field, each party diſcovered an impatient deſire of peace, and continual negociations were carried on for that purpoſe. The French King diſcouraged, and almoſt exhauſted by ſo many unſucceſsful enterprizes, was reduced now to think of obtaining the releaſe of his ſons by conceſſions, not by the terror of his arms. The Pope hoped to recover by a treaty whatever he had loſt in the war. The Emperor, notwithſtanding the advantages which he had gained, had many reaſons to make him wiſh for an accommodation. Solyman, having over-run Hungary, was ready to break in upon the Auſtrian

[y] Guic. l. xix. 520. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. x. c. 3. p. 233. Mem. de Bellay, 121.

territories

territories with the whole force of the East. The Reformation gaining ground daily in Germany, the princes who favoured it had entered into a confederacy, which Charles thought dangerous to the tranquillity of the Empire. The Spaniards murmured at a war the weight of which rested chiefly on them. The variety and extent of the Emperor's operations far exceeded what his revenues could support; his success hitherto had been owing chiefly to his own good fortune, and to the abilities of his generals, nor could he flatter himself that they, with troops destitute of every thing necessary, would always triumph over enemies still in a condition to renew their attacks. All parties, however, were at equal pains to conceal, or to dissemble their real sentiments. The Emperor, that his inability to carry on the war might not be suspected, insisted on high terms in the tone of a conqueror. The Pope, solicitous not to lose his present allies, before he came to any agreement with Charles, continued to make a thousand protestations of fidelity to the former, while he privately negociated with the latter. Francis, afraid that his confederates might prevent him by treating for themselves with the Emperor, had recourse to many dishonourable artifices in order to turn their attention from the measures which he was taking to adjust all differences with his rival.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI

BOOK V. 1529.

IN this situation of affairs, when all the contending powers wished for peace, but durst not venture too hastily on the steps necessary for attaining it, two ladies undertook to procure this blessing so much desired by all Europe. These were Margaret of Austria, dowager of Savoy, the Emperor's aunt, and Louise, Francis's mother. They agreed on an interview at Cambray, and being lodged in two adjoining houses, between which a communication was opened, met together without ceremony or observation, and held daily conferences, to which no person whatever was admitted. As both were profoundly skilled in business, thoroughly acquainted with the secrets of their respective courts, and possessed with perfect confidence in each other, they they soon made great progress towards a final accommodation; and the ambassadors of all the confederates waited in anxious suspense to know their fate, the determination of which was entirely in their hands [z].

May.

Separate treaty between the Pope and Charles. June 20.

BUT whatever diligence they used to hasten forward a general peace, the Pope had the address and industry to get the start of his allies, by concluding at Barcelona a particular treaty for himself. The Emperor, impatient to visit Italy in his way to Germany; and desirous of

[z] P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. x. c. 3. p. 133. Mem. de Bellay, p. 122.

re-esta-

re-eſtabliſhing tranquillity in the one country, before he attempted to compoſe the diſorders which abounded in the other, found it neceſſary to ſecure at leaſt one alliance on which he might depend, among the Italian ſtates. That with Clement, who courted it with unwearied importunity, ſeemed more proper than any other. Charles being extremely ſolicitous to make ſome reparation for the inſults which he had offered to the ſacred character of the Pope, and to redeem paſt offences by new merit, granted Clement, after all his misfortunes, terms more favourable than he could have expected after a continued ſeries of ſucceſs. Among other articles, he engaged to reſtore all the territories belonging to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; to re-eſtabliſh the dominion of the Medici in Florence; to give his natural daughter in marriage to Alexander the head of that family; and to put it in the Pope's power to decide concerning the fate of Sforza, and the poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe. In return for theſe ample conceſſions, Clement gave the Emperor the inveſtiture of Naples without the reſerve of any tribute, but the preſent of a white ſteed in acknowledgment of his ſovereignty; abſolved all who had been concerned in aſſaulting and plundering Rome; and permitted Charles and his brother Ferdinand to levy the fourth of the eccleſiaſtical revenues throughout their dominions [a].

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[a] Guic. l xix. 522.

Book V. 1529. August 5. Peace of Cambray between Charles and Francis.

The account of this tranſaction quickened the negociations at Cambray, and brought Margaret and Louiſe to an immediate agreement. The treaty of Madrid ſerved as the baſis of that which they concluded; the latter being intended to mitigate the rigour of the former. The chief articles were, That the Emperor ſhould not, for the preſent, demand the reſtitution of Burgundy, reſerving however, in full force, his rights and pretenſions to that dutchy; That Francis ſhould pay two millions of crowns as the ranſom of his ſons, and, before they were ſet at liberty, ſhould reſtore ſuch towns as he ſtill held in the Milaneſe; That he ſhould reſign the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois; That he ſhould renounce all his pretenſions to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and every other place beyond the Alps; That he ſhould immediately conſummate the marriage concluded between him and the Emperor's ſiſter Eleanora [b].

Advantageous for the Emperor.

Thus Francis, chiefly from his impatience to procure liberty to his ſons, ſacrificed every thing which had at firſt prompted him to take arms, or which had induced him, by continuing hoſtilities, during nine ſucceſſive campaigns, to protract the war to a length hardly known in Europe before the eſtabliſhment of ſtanding

[b] P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. x. c. 3. p. 234. Sandov. Hiſt. dell Emper. Carl. V. ii. 28.

armies;

armies, and the impofition of exorbitant taxes became univerfal. The Emperor, by this treaty, was rendered fole arbiter of the fate of Italy; he delivered his territories in the Netherlands from an ignominious badge of fubjection; and after having baffled his rival in the field, he prefcribed to him the conditions of peace. The different conduct and fpirit with which the two Monarchs carried on the operations of war, led naturally to fuch an iffue of it. Charles, inclined by temper, as well as obliged by his fituation, concerted all his fchemes with caution, purfued them with perfeverance, and obferving circumftances and events with attention, let none efcape that could be improved to advantage. Francis, more enterprizing than fteady, undertook great defigns with warmth, but executed them with remiffnefs; and, diverted by his pleafures, or deceived by his favourites, he often loft the moft promifing opportunities of fuccefs. Nor had the character of the two rivals themfelves greater influence on the operations of the war, than the oppofite qualities of the generals whom they employed. Among the Imperialifts, valour tempered with prudence; fertility of invention aided by experience; difcernment to penetrate the defigns of their enemies, a provident fagacity in conducting their own meafures, in a word all the talents that form great commanders and enfure victory, were

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conſpicuous. Among the French, theſe qualities were either wanting, or the very reverſe of them abounded; nor could they boaſt of one man (unleſs we except Lautrec, who was always unfortunate) that equalled the merit of Peſcara, Leyva, Guaſto, the prince of Orange, and other leaders whom Charles had to ſet in oppoſition to them. Bourbon, Moronè, Doria, who by their abilities and conduct might have been capable of balancing the ſuperiority which the Imperialiſts had acquired, were loſt through the careleſſneſs of the King, and the malice or injuſtice of his counſellors; and the moſt fatal blows given to France during the progreſs of the war, proceeded from the deſpair and reſentment of theſe three perſons, who were forced to abandon her ſervice.

Diſhonourable to Francis.

The hard conditions to which Francis was obliged to ſubmit, were not the moſt afflicting circumſtance to him in the treaty of Cambray. He loſt his reputation and the confidence of all Europe, by abandoning his allies to his rival. Unwilling to enter into the details neceſſary for adjuſting their intereſts, or afraid that whatever he claimed for them muſt have been purchaſed by farther conceſſions on his own part, he gave them up in a body; and without the leaſt proviſion in their behalf, left the Venetians, the Florentines, the duke of Ferrara, together with

ſuch of the Neapolitan barons as had joined his army, to the mercy of the Emperor. They exclaimed loudly againſt this baſe and perfidious action, of which Francis himſelf was ſo much aſhamed, that, in order to avoid the pain of hearing from their ambaſſadors the reproaches which he juſtly merited, it was ſome time before he would conſent to allow them an audience. Charles, on the other hand, was attentive to the intereſt of every perſon who had adhered to him; the rights of ſome of his Flemiſh ſubjects, who had eſtates or pretenſions in France, were ſecured; one article was inſerted, obliging Francis to reſtore the blood and memory of the Conſtable Bourbon; and to grant his heirs the poſſeſſion of his lands which had been forfeited; another, by which indemnification was ſtipulated for thoſe French gentlemen who had accompanied Bourbon in his exile[c]. This conduct, laudable in itſelf, and placed in the moſt ſtriking light by a compariſon with that of Francis, gained Charles as much eſteem as the ſucceſs of his arms had acquired him glory.

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Henry acquieſces in it.

FRANCIS did not treat the King of England with the ſame neglect as his other allies. He communicated to him all the ſteps of his negociation at Cambray, and luckily found that

[c] Guic. l. 19. p. 525. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. x. c. 4. p. 235.

Monarch

Book V. 1529.

His scheme of being divorced from his Queen.

Monarch in a situation which left him no choice, but to approve implicitly of his measures, and to concur with them. Henry had been soliciting the Pope for some time, in order to obtain a divorce from Catharine of Aragon his Queen. Several motives combined in prompting the King to urge this suit. As he was powerfully influenced at some seasons by religious considerations, he entertained many scruples concerning the legitimacy of his marriage with his brother's widow; his affections had long been estranged from the Queen, who was older than himself, and had lost all the charms which she possessed in the earlier part of her life; he was passionately desirous of having male issue; Wolsey artfully fortified his scruples, and encouraged his hopes, that he might widen the breach between him and the Emperor, Catharine's nephew; and, what was more forcible perhaps in its operation than all these united, the King had conceived a violent love for the celebrated Anne Boleyn, a young lady of great beauty, and of greater accomplishments, whom, as he found it impossible to gain her on other terms, he determined to raise to the throne. The Papal authority had often been interposed to grant divorces for reasons less specious than those which Henry produced. When the matter was first proposed to Clement, during his imprisonment in the castle of St. Angelo, as his hopes

of recovering liberty depended entirely on the King of England, and his ally of France, he expressed the warmest inclination to gratify him. But no sooner was he set free, than he discovered other sentiments. Charles, who espoused the protection of his aunt with zeal inflamed by resentment, alarmed the Pope on the one hand with threats, which made a deep impression on his timid mind; and allured him on the other with those promises in favour of his family, which he afterwards accomplished. Upon the prospect of these, Clement not only forgot all his obligations to Henry, but ventured to endanger the interest of the Romish religion in England, and to run the risk of alienating that kingdom for ever from the obedience of the Papal see. After amusing Henry during two years, with all the subtleties and chicane which the court of Rome can so dexterously employ to protract or defeat any cause; after displaying the whole extent of his ambiguous and deceitful policy, the intricacies of which the English historians, to whom it properly belongs, have found it no easy matter to trace and unravel; he, at last, recalled the powers of the delegates whom he had appointed to judge in the point, avocated the cause to Rome, leaving the King no other hope of obtaining a divorce but from the personal decision of the Pope himself. As Clement was now in strict alliance with the Emperor,

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peror, who had purchafed his friendfhip by fuch exorbitant conceffions, Henry defpaired of procuring any fentence from the former, but what was dictated by the latter. His honour, however, and paffions concurred in preventing him from relinquifhing his fcheme of a divorce, which he determined to accomplifh by other means, and at any rate; and the continuance of Francis's friendfhip being neceffary to counterbalance the Emperor's power, he, in order to fecure that, not only offered no remonftrances againft the total neglect of their allies, in the treaty of Cambray, but made Francis the prefent of a large fum, as a brotherly contribution towards the payment of the ranfom for his fons [d].

Aug. 12. The Emperor vifits Italy.

MEANWHILE the Emperor landed in Italy with a numerous train of the Spanifh nobility, and a confiderable body of troops. He left the government of Spain during his abfence to the Emprefs Ifabella. By his long refidence in that country, he had acquired fuch thorough knowledge of the character of the people, that he could perfectly accommodate the maxims of his government to their genius. He could even affume, upon fome occafions, fuch popular manners, as gained wonderfully upon the Spaniards. A ftriking inftance of his difpofition to gratify them had occurred a few days before

[d] Herbert. Mem. de Bellay, p. 122.

he

he embarked for Italy: He was to make his public entry into the city of Barcelona; and some doubts having arisen among the inhabitants, whether they should receive him as Emperor, or as Count of Barcelona; Charles instantly decided in favour of the latter, declaring that he was more proud of that ancient title, than of his Imperial crown. Soothed with this flattering expression of his regard, the citizens welcomed him with acclamations of joy, and the states of the province swore allegiance to his son Philip, as heir of the county of Barcelona. A similar oath had been taken in all the kingdoms of Spain, with equal satisfaction [e]. BOOK V. 1529.

THE Emperor appeared in Italy with the pomp and power of a conqueror. Ambassadors from all the princes and states of that country attended his court, waiting to receive his decision with regard to their fate. At Genoa, where he first landed, he was received with the acclamations due to the protector of their liberties. Having honoured Doria with many marks of distinction, and bestowed on the republic several new privileges, he proceeded to Bologna, the place fixed upon for his interview with the Pope. He affected to unite in his public entry Nov. 5. into that city the state and majesty that suited an Emperor, with the humility becoming an

[e] Sandov. ii. p. 50. Ferrer. ix. 116.

Book V. 1529.

obedient son of the church; and while at the head of twenty thousand veteran soldiers, able to give law to all Italy, he kneeled down to kiss the feet of that very Pope whom he had so lately detained a prisoner. The Italians, after suffering so much from the ferocity and licentiousness of his armies, and after having been long accustomed to form in their imagination a picture of Charles which bore some resemblance to that of the barbarous Monarchs of the Goths or Huns, who had formerly afflicted their country with like calamities, were surprized to see a prince of a graceful appearance, affable and courteous in his deportment, of regular manners, and of exemplary attention to all the offices of religion [f]. They were still more astonished when he settled all the concerns of the princes and states which now depended on him, with a degree of moderation and equity much beyond what they had expected.

His moderation and the motives of it.

Charles himself, when he set out from Spain, far from intending to give any such extraordinary proof of his self-denial, seems to have been resolved to avail himself to the utmost of the superiority which he had acquired in Italy. But various circumstances concurred in pointing out the necessity of pursuing a very different course. The progress of the Turkish Sultan, who, after

[f] Sandov. Hist. dell Emp. Carl. V. ii. 50, 53, &c.

over-

over-running Hungary, had penetrated into Austria, and laid siege to Vienna with an army of an hundred and fifty thousand men, loudly called on him to collect his whole force to oppose that torrent; and though the valour of the Germans, the prudent conduct of Ferdinand, together with the treachery of the Vizier soon obliged Solyman to abandon that enterprize with infamy and loss, the religious disorders still growing in Germany made the Emperor's presence highly necessary there[g]: The Florentines, instead of giving their consent to the re-establishment of the Medici, which by the treaty of Barcelona the Emperor had bound himself to procure, were preparing to defend their liberty by force of arms; the vast preparations for his journey had involved him in unusual expences; and on this, as well as many other occasions, the multiplicity of his affairs, together with the narrowness of his revenues, obliged him to contract his vast schemes of ambition, and to forego present and certain advantages, that he might guard against more remote but unavoidable dangers. Charles, from all these considerations, finding it necessary to assume an air of moderation, acted his part with a good grace. He admitted Sforza into his presence, and not only gave him a full pardon of all past offences, but

Book V. 1529. Sept. 13. Oct. 16.

g Sleidan, 121, Guic. l. xx. 550.

granted

Book V. 1529. granted him the inveſtiture of the dutchy, together with his niece the King of Denmark's daughter in marriage. He allowed the duke of Ferrara to keep poſſeſſion of all his dominions, adjuſting the points in diſpute between him and the Pope with an impartiality not very agreeable to the latter. He came to a final accommodation with the Venetians upon the reaſonable condition of their reſtoring whatever they had uſurped during the late war, either in the Neapolitan or Papal territories. In return for ſo many conceſſions he exacted conſiderable ſums from each of the powers with whom he treated, which they paid without reluctance, and which afforded him the means of proceeding on his journey towards Germany with a magnificence ſuitable to his dignity [h].

1530. Re-eſtabliſhes the authority of the Medici in Florence.

THESE treaties, which reſtored tranquillity to Italy after a tedious war, the calamities of which had chiefly affected that country, were publiſhed at Bologna with great ſolemnity on the firſt day of the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people, applauding the Emperor, to whoſe moderation and generoſity they aſcribed the bleſſings of peace which they had ſo long deſired. The Florentines alone did not partake of this general joy. Animated with a zeal for liberty

[h] Sandov. ii. 55, &c.

more

more laudable than prudent, they determined to oppose the restoration of the Medici. The Imperial army had already entered their territories, and formed the siege of their capital. But though deserted by all their allies, and left without any hope of succour, they defended themselves many months with an obstinate valour worthy of better success, and even when they surrendered, they obtained a capitulation which gave them hopes of securing some remains of their liberty. But the Emperor, from his desire to gratify the Pope, frustrated all their expectations, and abolishing their ancient form of government, raised Alexander di Medici to the same absolute dominion over that state which his family have retained to the present times. Philibert de Chalons prince of Orange, the Imperial general, was killed during this siege. His estate and titles descended to his sister Claude de Chalons, who was married to Renè count of Nassau, and she transmitted to her posterity of the house of Nassau the title of Princes of Orange, which they have rendered so illustrious [i].

Book V. 1530.

AFTER the publication of the peace at Bologna, and the ceremony of his coronation as King of Lombardy and Emperor of the Romans, which the Pope performed with the accustomed

State of affairs, civil and religious, in Germany. Feb. 22 and 24.

[i] Guic. l. xx. p. 541, &c. P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. x. c. 4. p. 236.

formalities,

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formalities, nothing detained Charles in Italy[k]; and he began to prepare for his journey to Germany. His presence became every day more necessary in that country, and was solicited with equal importunity by the catholics and by the favourers of the new doctrines. During that long interval of tranquillity which the absence of the Emperor, the contests between him and the Pope, and his attention to the war with France, afforded them, the latter had gained much ground. Most of the princes who had embraced Luther's opinions, had not only established in their territories that form of worship which he approved, but had entirely suppressed the rites of the Romish church. Many of the free cities had imitated their conduct. Almost one half of the Germanic body had revolted from the Papal see, and its dominion, even in that part which had not hitherto shaken off the yoke, was considerably weakened by the example of the neighbouring states, or by the secret progress of those doctrines which had undermined it among them. Whatever satisfaction the Emperor, while he was at open enmity with the see of Rome, might have felt in those events that tended to mortify and embarrass the Pope, he could not help perceiving now, that the religious divisions in Germany would, in the end, prove

[k] H. Cornel. Agrippa de duplici Coronatione Car. V. ap. Scard. ii. 266.

extremely

extremely hurtful to the Imperial authority. The weakneſs of former Emperors had ſuffered the great vaſſals of the Empire to make ſuch ſucceſsful encroachments upon their power and prerogative, that during the whole courſe of a war, which had often required the exertion of his utmoſt ſtrength, Charles hardly drew any effectual aid from Germany, and found that magnificent titles or obſolete pretenſions were almoſt the only advantages which he had gained by ſwaying the Imperial ſceptre. He now became fully ſenſible that if he did not recover in ſome degree the prerogatives which his predeceſſors had loſt, and acquire the authority, as well as poſſeſs the name, of head of the Empire, his high dignity would contribute more to obſtruct than to promote his ambitious ſchemes. Nothing, he ſaw, was more eſſential towards attaining this, than to ſuppreſs opinions which might form new bonds of confederacy among the princes of the Empire, and unite them by ties ſtronger and more ſacred than any political connection. Nothing ſeemed to lead more certainly to the accompliſhment of his deſigns, than to employ zeal for the eſtabliſhed religion, of which he was the natural protector, as the inſtrument of extending his civil authority.

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Accordingly, a proſpect no ſooner opened of coming to an accommodation with the Pope, than,

Proceedings of the Diet at Spires. March 15, 1529.

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than, by the Emperor's appointment, a diet of the Empire was held at Spires, in order to take into consideration the ſtate of religion. The decree of the diet aſſembled there in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſix, which was almoſt equivalent to a toleration of Luther's opinions, had given great offence to the reſt of Chriſtendom. The greateſt delicacy of addreſs, however, was requiſite in proceeding to any deciſion more rigorous. The minds of men kept in perpetual agitation by a controverſy carried on during twelve years without intermiſſion of debate, or abatement of zeal, were now inflamed to an high degree. They were accuſtomed to innovations, and ſaw the boldeſt of them ſucceſsful. Having not only aboliſhed old rites, but ſubſtituted new forms in their place, they were influenced as much by attachment to the ſyſtem which they had embraced, as by averſion to that which they had abandoned. Luther himſelf, of a ſpirit not to be worn out by the length and obſtinacy of the combat, or to become remiſs upon ſucceſs, continued the attack with as much vigour as he had begun it. His diſciples, of whom many equalled him in zeal, and ſome ſurpaſſed him in learning, were no leſs capable than their maſter to conduct the controverſy in the propereſt manner. Many of the laity, ſome even of the princes, trained up amidſt theſe inceſſant diſputations, and in the

habit

habit of listening to the arguments of the contending parties who alternately appealed to them as judges, came to be profoundly skilled in all the questions which were agitated, and, upon occasion, could shew themselves not inexpert in any of the arts with which these theological encounters were managed. It was obvious from all these circumstances, that any violent decision of the diet must have immediately precipitated matters into confusion, and have kindled in Germany the flames of a religious war. All, therefore, that the Archduke, and the other commissioners appointed by the Emperor demanded of the diet, was, to enjoin those states of the Empire which had hitherto obeyed the decree issued against Luther at Worms in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-four, to persevere in the observation of it, and to prohibit the other states from attempting any farther innovation in religion, particularly from abolishing the Mass, before the meeting of a general council. After much dispute, a decree to that effect was approved of by a majority of voices[1].

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The Elector of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburgh, the Landgrave of Hesse, the dukes of Lunenburgh, the prince of Anhalt, together with the deputies of fourteen Imperial or free

The followers of Luther protest against them. April 19.

[1] Sleid. Hist. 117.

8 cities,

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARAS...

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cities [m], entered a ſolemn proteſt againſt this decree, as unjuſt and impious. On that account they were diſtinguiſhed by the name of PROTESTANTS [n], an appellation which hath ſince become better known, and more honourable, by its being applied indiſcriminately to all the ſects of whatever denomination which have revolted from the Roman ſee. Not ſatisfied with this declaration of their diſſent from the decree of the diet, the Proteſtants ſent ambaſſadors into Italy to lay their grievances before the Emperor, from whom they met with the moſt diſcouraging reception. Charles was at that time in cloſe union with the Pope, and ſolicitous to attach him inviolably to his intereſt. During their long reſidence at Bologna, they held many conſultations concerning the moſt effectual means of extirpating the hereſies which had ſprung up in Germany. Clement, whoſe cautious and timid mind the propoſal of a general council filled with horror, even beyond that which Popes, the conſtant enemies of ſuch aſſemblies, uſually feel, employed every argument to diſſuade the Emperor from conſenting to that meaſure. He repreſented general councils as factious, ungo-

Deliberations of the Pope and Emperor.

[m] The fourteen cities were Straſburgh, Nuremberg, Ulm, Conſtance, Reutlingen, Windſheim, Meinengen, Lindaw, Kempten, Hailbron, Iſna, Weiſſemburgh, Nordlingen, and St. Gal.

[n] Sleid. Hiſt. 119. F. Paul, Hiſt. p. 45. Seckend. ii. 127.

 vernable,

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ernable, presumptuous, formidable to civil authority, and too slow in their operations to remedy disorders which required an immediate cure. Experience, he said, had now taught both the Emperor and himself, that forbearance and lenity exasperated the spirit of innovation, which they ought to have mollified; it was necessary, therefore, to have recourse to the rigorous methods which such a desperate case required; Leo's sentence of excommunication, and the decree of the diet at Worms should be carried into execution, and it was incumbent on the Emperor to employ his whole power, in order to overawe those, on whom the reverence due either to ecclesiastical or civil authority had no longer any influence. Charles, whose views were very different from the Pope's, and who became daily more sensible how obstinate and deep rooted the evil was, thought of reconciling the Protestants by means less violent, and considered the convocation of a council as no improper expedient for that purpose; but promised, if these gentler arts failed of success, that then he would exert himself with vigour to reduce those stubborn enemies of the Catholic faith [o].

Emperor present at the Diet of Augsburg. March 22, 1530.

Such were the sentiments with which the Emperor set out for Germany, having already ap-

[o] F. Paul, xlvii. Seck. l. ii. 142. Hist. de Confess. d'Auxbourg, par D. Chytreus, 4to. Antw. 1572, p. 6.

Book V. 1530. pointed a diet of the Empire to be held at Augſburg. In his journey towards that city, he had many opportunities of obſerving the diſpoſition of the Germans with regard to the points in controverſy, and found their minds every where ſo much irritated and inflamed, as convinced him that nothing tending to ſeverity or rigour ought to be attempted, until all other meaſures proved ineffectual. He made his public entry into Augſburg with extraordinary pomp; and found there ſuch a full aſſembly of the members (June 15.) of the diet as was ſuitable both to the importance of the affairs which were to come under their conſideration, and to the honour of an Emperor, who, after a long abſence, returned to them crowned with reputation and ſucceſs. His preſence ſeems to have communicated to all parties an unuſual ſpirit of moderation and deſire of peace. The Elector of Saxony would not permit Luther to accompany him to the diet, leſt he ſhould offend the Emperor by bringing into his preſence a perſon excommunicated by the Pope, and the author of all thoſe diſſenſions which it now appeared ſo difficult to compoſe. At the Emperor's deſire, all the Proteſtant princes forbad the divines who accompanied them, to preach in public during their reſidence at Augſburg. For the ſame reaſon they employed Melancthon, the man of the greateſt learning, as well as of the moſt pacific and gentle

ſpirit

ſpirit among the Reformers, to draw up a confeſſion of their faith expreſſed in terms as little offenſive to the Roman Catholics, as a regard for truth would permit. Melancthon, who ſeldom ſuffered the rancour of controverſy to envenom his ſtyle, even in writings purely polemical, executed a taſk ſo agreeable to his natural diſpoſition with great moderation and ſucceſs. The Creed which he compoſed, known by the name of the Confeſſion of Augſburg, from the place where it was preſented, was read publicly in the diet; ſome Popiſh divines were appointed to examine it; they brought in their animadverſions; a diſpute enſued between them and Melancthon, ſeconded by ſome of his brethren; but though Melancthon ſoftened ſome articles, made conceſſions with regard to others, and put the leaſt exceptionable ſenſe upon all; though the Emperor himſelf laboured with great earneſtneſs to reconcile the contending parties; ſo many marks of diſtinction were now eſtabliſhed, and ſuch inſuperable barriers placed between the two churches, that all hopes of bringing about a coalition ſeemed utterly deſperate [p].

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The confeſſion of Augſburg.

From the divines, among whom his endeavours had been ſo unſucceſsful, Charles turned

[p] Seckend. lib. ii. 159, &c. Abr Sculteti Annales Evangelici ap. Herm. Von der Hard. Hiſt. Liter. Reform. Lipſ. 1717. fol. p. 159.

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to the princes their patrons. Nor did he find them, how desirous soever of accommodation, or willing to oblige the Emperor, more disposed than the former to renounce their opinions. At that time, zeal for religion took possession of the minds of men, to a degree which can scarcely be conceived by those who live in an age when the passions excited by the first manifestation of truth, and the first recovery of liberty, have in great measure ceased to operate. This zeal was then of such strength as to overcome attachment to their political interest, which is commonly the predominant motive among princes. The Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and other chiefs of the Protestants, though solicited separately by the Emperor, and allured by the promise or prospect of those advantages which it was known they were most solicitous to attain, refused, with a fortitude highly worthy of imitation, to abandon what they deemed the cause of God, for the sake of any earthly acquisition [q].

Severe decree against the Protestants.

Every scheme in order to gain or disunite the Protestant party proving abortive, nothing now remained for the Emperor but to take some vigorous measures towards asserting the doctrines and authority of the established church.

[q] Sleid. 132. Scultet. Annal. 158.

These,

These, Campeggio, the papal nuncio, had always recommended as the only proper and effectual course of dealing with such obstinate heretics. In compliance with his opinions and remonstrances, the diet issued a decree, condemning most of the peculiar tenets held by the Protestants; forbiding any person to protect or tolerate those who taught them; enjoining a strict observance of the established rites; and prohibiting any further innovation under severe penalties. All orders of men were required to assist with their persons and fortunes in carrying this decree into execution; and such as refused to obey it, were declared incapable of acting as judges, or of appearing as parties in the Imperial chamber, the supreme court of judicature in the Empire. To all which was subjoined a promise, that an application should be made to the Pope, requiring him to call a general council within six months, in order to terminate all controversies by its sovereign decisions [r]. Nov. 19.

They enter into a league at Smalkalde.

The severity of this decree, which they considered as a prelude to the most violent persecutions, alarmed the Protestants, and convinced them that the Emperor was resolved on their destruction. The dread of those calamities which were ready to fall on the church, oppressed the

[r] Sleid. 139.

Book V. feeble ſpirit of Melancthon; and as if the cauſe had already been deſperate, he gave up himſelf to melancholy and lamentation. But Luther, who during the meeting of the diet had endeavoured to confirm and animate his party by ſeveral treatiſes which he addreſſed to them, was not diſconcerted or diſmayed at the proſpect of this new danger. He comforted Melancthon and his other deſponding diſciples, and exhorted the princes not to abandon thoſe truths which they had lately aſſerted with ſuch laudable boldneſs[s]. His exhortations made the deeper impreſſion upon them, as they were greatly alarmed at that time by the account of a combination among the Popiſh princes of the Empire for the maintenance of the eſtabliſhed religion, to which Charles himſelf had acceded[t]. This convinced them that it was neceſſary to ſtand on their guard; and that their own ſafety, as well as the ſucceſs of their cauſe, depended on union. Filled with this dread of the adverſe party, and with theſe ſentiments concerning the conduct proper for themſelves, they aſſembled at Smalkalde. There, they concluded a league of mutual defence againſt all aggreſſors[u], by which they formed the Proteſtant ſtates of the Empire into one regular body, and beginning already to con-

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Decem. 22.

[s] Seck. ii. 180. Sleid. 140. [t] Seck. ii. 200. iii. 11.
[u] Sleid. Hiſt. 142.

ſider

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ſider themſelves as ſuch, they reſolved to apply to the Kings of France and England, and to implore them to aſſiſt and patronize their new confederacy.

The Emperor propoſes to have his brother elected King of the Romans.

AN affair not connected with religion furniſhed them with a pretence for courting the aid of foreign princes. Charles, whoſe ambitious views enlarged in proportion to the increaſe of his power and grandeur, had formed a ſcheme of continuing the Imperial crown in his family, by procuring his brother Ferdinand to be elected King of the Romans. The preſent juncture was favourable for the execution of that deſign. The Emperor's arms had been every where victorious; he had given law to all Europe at the late peace; no rival now remained in a condition to balance or to controul him; and the Electors, dazzled by the ſplendor of his ſucceſs, or overawed by the greatneſs of his power, durſt ſcarcely diſpute the will of a prince, whoſe ſolicitations carried with them the authority of commands. Nor did he want plauſible reaſons to enforce the meaſure. The affairs of his other kingdoms, he ſaid, obliged him to be often abſent from Germany; the growing diſorders occaſioned by the controverſies about religion, as well as the formidable neighbourhood of the Turks, who continually threatened to break in with their deſolating armies into the heart of the

Book V. 1530. Empire, required the conſtant preſence of a prince endowed with prudence capable of compoſing the former, and with power as well as valour ſufficient to repel the latter. His brother Ferdinand poſſeſſed theſe qualities in an eminent degree; by reſiding long in Germany, he had acquired a thorough knowledge of their conſtitution and manners; having been preſent almoſt from the firſt riſe of their religious diſſenſions, he knew what remedies were moſt proper, what they could bear, and how to apply them; as his own dominions lay on the Turkiſh frontier, he was the natural defender of Germany againſt the invaſions of the Infidels, being prompted by intereſt no leſs than he would be bound in duty to oppoſe them.

The Proteſtants averſe to it.

THESE arguments made little impreſſion on the Proteſtants. Experience taught them, that nothing had contributed more to the undiſturbed progreſs of their opinions, than the interregnum after Maximilian's death, the long abſence of Charles, and the ſlackneſs in the reins of government which theſe occaſioned; after deriving ſuch advantages from a ſtate of anarchy, they were extremely unwilling to give themſelves a new and a fixed maſter. They perceived clearly the extent of Charles's ambition, that he aimed at rendering the Imperial crown hereditary in his family, and would of courſe eſtabliſh in the

Empire an abſolute dominion, to which elective princes could not have aſpired with equal facility. They determined therefore to oppoſe Ferdinand's election with the utmoſt vigour, and to rouſe their countrymen, by their example and exhortations, to withſtand this encroachment on their liberties. The Elector of Saxony, accordingly, not only refuſed to be preſent in the electoral college, which the Emperor ſummoned to meet at Cologne, but inſtructed his eldeſt ſon to appear there, and to proteſt againſt the election as informal, illegal, contrary to the articles of the golden bull, and ſubverſive of the liberties of the Empire. But the other Electors, whom Charles had been at great pains to gain, without regarding either his abſence or proteſt, choſe Ferdinand King of the Romans; who a few days after was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle [x].

Book V. 1530. 1531. January 5. He is choſen

WHEN the Proteſtants, who were aſſembled a ſecond time at Smalkalde, received an account of this tranſaction, and heard, at the ſame time, that proſecutions were commenced, in the Imperial chamber, againſt ſome of their number, on account of their religious principles, they thought it neceſſary, not only to renew their former confederacy, but immediately to diſpatch their ambaſſadors into France and England.

Negociations of the Proteſtants with France.

x Sleid. 142. Seck. iii. 1. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. x. c. 6. p. 240.

Francis

BOOK V. 1531. Feb. 29.

Francis had obſerved, with all the jealouſy of a rival, the reputation which the Emperor had acquired by his ſeeming diſintereſtedneſs and moderation in ſettling the affairs of Italy; and beheld with great concern, the ſucceſsful ſtep which he had taken towards perpetuating and extending his authority in Germany by the election of a King of the Romans. Nothing, however, would have been more impolitic than to precipitate his kingdom into a new war when exhauſted by extraordinary efforts, and diſcouraged by ill ſucceſs, before it had got time to recruit its ſtrength, or to forget paſt misfortunes. Nor could he, when no provocation had been given, and hardly a pretext had been afforded him, violate a treaty of peace which he himſelf had ſo lately ſolicited, without forfeiting the eſteem of all Europe, and being deteſted as a prince void of probity and honour. He obſerved, with great joy, powerful factions beginning to form in the Empire; he liſtened with the utmoſt eagerneſs to the complaints of the Proteſtant princes; and without ſeeming to countenance their religious opinions, determined ſecretly to cheriſh thoſe ſparks of political diſcord which might be afterwards kindled into a flame. For this purpoſe, he ſent William de Bellay, one of the ableſt negociators in France, into Germany, who viſiting the courts of the malecontent princes, and heightening their ill-humour by various

rious arts, concluded an alliance between them and his maſter [y], which though concealed at that time, and productive of no immediate effects, laid the foundation of an union fatal on many occaſions to Charles's ambitious projects; and ſhewed the diſcontented princes of Germany, where they might, for the future, find a protector no leſs able than willing to undertake their defence againſt the encroachments of the Emperor.

With England.

The King of England, highly incenſed againſt Charles, in complaiſance to whom, the Pope had long retarded, and now openly oppoſed his divorce, was no leſs diſpoſed than Francis to ſtrengthen a league which might be rendered ſo formidable to the Emperor. But his favourite project of the divorce led him into ſuch a labyrinth of ſchemes and negociations, and he was, at the ſame time, ſo intent on aboliſhing the papal juriſdiction in England, that he had no leiſure for foreign affairs. This obliged him to reſt ſatisfied with giving general promiſes, together with a ſmall ſupply in money to the confederates of Smalkalde [z].

Charles courts the Proteſtants.

Meanwhile, many circumſtances convinced Charles that this was not a juncture when the

[y] Bellay, 129, a. 130. b. Sec. iii. 14.

[z] Herbert, 152, 154.

 extirpation

Book V. 1531.

extirpation of heresy was to be attempted by violence and rigour; that, in compliance with the Pope's inclinations, he had already proceeded with imprudent precipitation; and that it was more his interest to consolidate Germany into one united and vigorous body, than to divide and enfeeble it by a civil war. The Protestants, already considerable as well by their numbers as by their zeal, had acquired additional weight and importance by their joining in that confederacy into which the rash steps taken at Augsburg had forced them. Having now discovered their own strength, they despised the decisions of the Imperial chamber; and being secure of foreign protection, were ready to set the head of the Empire at defiance. At the same time the peace with France was precarious, the friendship of an irresolute and interested pontiff was not to be relied on; and Solyman, in order to repair the infamy and loss which his arms had sustained in the former campaign, was preparing to enter Austria with more numerous forces. On all these accounts, especially the last, a speedy accommodation with the malecontent princes, was necessary, not only for the accomplishment of his future schemes, but for ascertaining his present safety. Negociations were, accordingly, carried on by his direction with the Elector of Saxony and his associates; after many delays occasioned by their jealousy of the Emperor, and of each other,

other, after innumerable difficulties arising from the inflexible nature of religious tenets, which cannot admit of being altered, modified, or relinquished in the same manner as points of political interest, terms of pacification were agreed upon at Nuremberg, and ratified solemnly in the Diet at Ratisbon. In this treaty, it was stipulated, That universal peace be established in Germany, until the meeting of a general council, the convocation of which within six months the Emperor shall endeavour to procure; That no person be molested on account of religion; That a stop be put to all processes begun by the Imperial chamber against Protestants, and the sentences already passed to their detriment be declared void. On their part, the Protestants engaged to assist the Emperor with all their forces in resisting the invasion of the Turks[a]. Thus by their firmness in adhering to their principles, by the unanimity with which they urged all their claims, and by their dexterity in availing themselves of the Emperor's situation, the Protestants obtained terms which amounted almost to a toleration of their religion; all the concessions were made by Charles, none by them; even the favourite point of their approving his brother's election was not mentioned; and the Protestants of Germany, who had hitherto

Book V. 1532. Grants them favourable terms. July 23. August 3.

[a] Du Mont Corps Diplomatique, tom. iv. part ii. 87, 89.

Book V. 1532. therto been viewed only as a religious ſect, came henceforth to be conſidered as a political body of no ſmall conſequence [b].

Campaign in Hungary.

The intelligence which Charles received of Solyman's having entered Hungary at the head of three hundred thouſand men, cut ſhort the deliberations of the Diet at Ratiſbon; the contingent both of troops and money, which each prince was to furniſh towards the defence of the Empire, having been already ſettled. The Proteſtants, as a teſtimony of their gratitude to the Emperor, exerted themſelves with extraordinary zeal, and brought into the field forces that exceeded in number the quota impoſed on them; the Catholics imitating their example, one of the greateſt and beſt appointed armies that had ever been levied in Germany, aſſembled near Vienna. Being joined by a body of Spaniſh and Italian veterans under the marquis del Guaſto; by ſome heavy-armed cavalry from the Low-Countries; and by the troops which Ferdinand had raiſed in Bohemia, Auſtria, and his other territories, it amounted in all to ninety thouſand diſciplined foot, and thirty thouſand horſe, beſides a prodigious ſwarm of irregulars. Of this vaſt army, worthy the firſt prince in Chriſtendom, the Emperor took the command in perſon; and mankind waited in ſuſpenſe the iſſue

[b] Sleid. 149, &c. Seck. iii. 19.

of a decisive battle between the two greatest Monarchs in the world. But each of them dreading the other's power and good fortune, they both conducted their operations with such excessive caution, that a campaign, for which such immense preparations had been made, ended without any memorable event. Solyman, finding it impossible to gain ground upon an enemy always attentive and on his guard, marched back to Constantinople towards the end of autumn [c]. It is remarkable, that in such a martial age, when every gentleman was a soldier, and every prince a general, this was the first time that Charles, who had already carried on such extensive wars, and gained so many victories, appeared at the head of his troops. In this first essay of his arms, to have opposed such a leader as Solyman, was no small honour; to have obliged him to retreat, merited very considerable praise.

September and October.

About the beginning of this campaign, the Elector of Saxony died, and was succeeded by his son John Frederick. The Reformation rather gained than lost by that event; the new Elector, no less attached than his predecessors to the opinions of Luther, occupied the station which they had held at the head of the Protestant party,

Aug. 16.

[c] Jovii Hist. lib. 30. p. 100, &c. Barre Hist. de l'Empire, i. 8. 347.

and

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and defended, with the boldneſs and zeal of youth, that cauſe which they had foſtered and reared with the caution of old age.

The Emperor's interview with the Pope in his way to Spain.

IMMEDIATELY after the retreat of the Turks, Charles, impatient to reviſit Spain, ſet out on his way thither, for Italy. As he was extremely deſirous of an interview with the Pope, they met a ſecond time at Bologna, with the ſame external demonſtrations of reſpect and friendſhip, but with little of that confidence which had ſubſiſted between them during their late negociations there. Clement was much diſſatisfied with the Emperor's proceedings at Augſburg; his conceſſions with regard to the ſpeedy convocation of a council, having more than cancelled all the merit of the ſevere decree againſt the doctrines of the Reformers. The toleration granted to the Proteſtants at Ratiſbon, and the more explicit promiſe concerning a council, with which it was accompanied, had irritated him ſtill farther. Charles, however, partly from conviction that the meeting of a council would be attended with ſalutary effects, and partly from his deſire to pleaſe the Germans, having ſolicited him by his ambaſſadors to call that aſſembly without delay, and now urging the ſame thing in perſon, Clement was greatly embarraſſed what reply he ſhould make to a requeſt, which it was indecent to refuſe, and dangerous to grant. He

Negociations concerning a general council.

endeavoured

endeavoured at firſt to divert Charles from the measure, but finding him inflexible, he had recourſe to artifices which he knew would delay, if not entirely defeat the calling of that aſſembly. Under the plauſible pretext of its being previouſly neceſſary to ſettle, with all parties concerned, the place of the council's meeting; the manner of its proceedings; the right of the perſons who ſhould be admitted to vote; and the authority of their deciſions; he diſpatched a nuncio, accompanied by an ambaſſador from the Emperor, to the Elector of Saxony as head of the Proteſtants. With regard to each of theſe articles, inextricable difficulties and conteſts aroſe. The Proteſtants demanded a council to be held in Germany; the Pope inſiſted that it ſhould meet in Italy: They contended that all points in diſpute ſhould be determined by the words of holy ſcripture alone; he conſidered not only the decrees of the church, but the opinions of fathers and doctors as of equal authority: They required a free council in which the divines commiſſioned by different churches ſhould be allowed a voice; he aimed at modelling the council in ſuch a manner as would render it entirely dependant on his pleaſure. Above all, the Proteſtants thought it unreaſonable that they ſhould bind themſelves to ſubmit to the decrees of a council, before they knew on what principles theſe decrees were to be founded, by

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what persons they were to be pronounced, and what forms of proceeding they would observe. The Pope maintained it to be altogether unnecessary to call a council, if those who demanded it did not previously declare their resolution to acquiesce in its decrees. In order to adjust such a variety of points, many expedients were proposed, and the negociations spun out to such a length, as effectually answered Clement's purpose of putting off the meeting of a council, without drawing on himself the whole infamy of obstructing a measure which all Europe deemed so essential to the good of the church[d].

and for preserving the tranquillity of Italy.

TOGETHER with this negociation about calling a council, the Emperor carried on another, which he had still more at heart, for securing the peace established in Italy. As Francis had renounced his pretensions in that country with great reluctance, Charles made no doubt but that he would lay hold on the first pretext afforded him, or embrace the first opportunity which presented itself of recovering what he had lost. It became necessary, on this account, to take measures for assembling an army able to oppose him. As his treasury, drained by a long war, could not supply the sums requisite for keeping such a body constantly on foot, he attempted

[d] F. Paul, Hist. 61. Seckend. iii. 73.

tempted

tempted to throw that burden on his allies, and Book V.
to provide for the safety of his own dominions 1532.
at their expence, by proposing that the Italian states should enter into a league of defence against all invaders; that, on the first appearance of danger, an army should be raised and maintained at the common charge; and that Antonio de Leyva should be appointed the generalissimo. Nor was the proposal unacceptable to Clement, though for a reason very different from that which induced the Emperor to make it. He hoped, by this expedient, to deliver 1533.
Italy from the German and Spanish veterans which had so long filled all the powers in that country with terror, and still kept them in subjection to the Imperial yoke. A league was Feb. 24.
accordingly concluded; all the Italian states, the Venetians excepted, acceded to it; the sum which each of the contracting parties should furnish towards maintaining the army was fixed; the Emperor agreed to withdraw the troops which gave so much umbrage to his allies, and which he was unable any longer to support. Having disbanded part of them, and removed the rest to Sicily and Spain, he embarked on board Doria's gallies, and arrived at Barcelona[c]. April 22.

Designs and negociations of the French King against the Emperor;

NOTWITHSTANDING all his precautions for securing the peace of Germany, and maintaining

[c] Guic. l. xx. 551. Ferreras, ix. 149.

BOOK V. 1533. ing that ſyſtem which he had eſtabliſhed in Italy, the Emperor became every day more and more apprehenſive that both would be ſoon diſturbed by the intrigues or arms of the French King. His apprehenſions were well founded, as nothing but the deſperate ſituation of his affairs could have brought Francis to give his conſent to a treaty ſo diſhonourable and diſadvantageous as that of Cambray: He, at the very time of ratifying it, had formed a reſolution to obſerve it no longer than neceſſity compelled him, and took a ſolemn proteſt, though with the moſt profound ſecrecy, againſt ſeveral articles in the treaty, particularly that whereby he renounced all pretenſions to the dutchy of Milan, as unjuſt, injurious to his heirs, and invalid. One of the crown lawyers, by his command, entered a proteſt to the ſame purpoſe, and with the like ſecrecy, when the ratification of the treaty was regiſtered in the parliament of Paris [f]. Francis ſeems to have thought that, by employing an artifice unworthy of a King, deſtructive of public faith, and of the mutual confidence on which all tranſactions between nations are founded, he was releaſed from any obligation to perform the moſt ſolemn promiſes, or to adhere to the moſt ſacred engagements. From the moment he concluded the peace of Cambray, he wiſhed and watched for an opportunity of violating it with ſafety. He endeavoured for that reaſon to ſtrengthen his

[f] Du Mont Corps Diplom. tom. iv. part 2. p. 52.

alliance with the King of England, whose friendship he cultivated with the greatest assiduity. He put the military force of his own kingdom on a better and more respectable footing than ever. He artfully fomented the jealousy and discontent of the German princes.

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But above all, Francis laboured to break the strict confederacy which subsisted between Charles and Clement; and he had soon the satisfaction to observe appearances of disgust and alienation arising in the mind of that suspicious and interested Pontiff, which gave him hopes that their union would not be lasting. As the Emperor's decision in favour of the duke of Ferrara had greatly irritated the Pope, Francis aggravated the injustice of that proceeding, and flattered him that the papal see would find in him a more impartial and no less powerful protector. As the importunity with which Charles demanded a council was extremely offensive to the Pope, Francis artfully created obstacles to prevent it, and attempted to divert the German princes, his allies, from insisting so obstinately on that point[g]. As the Emperor had gained such an ascendant over Clement by contributing to aggrandize his family, Francis endeavoured to allure him by the same irresistible bait, proposing a marriage between his second son, Henry

particularly with the Pope.

[g] Bellay, 141, &c. Seck. iii. 48. F. Paul, 63.

 duke

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duke of Orleans, and Catharine, the daughter of the Pope's cousin Laurence di Medici. On the first overtures of this match, the Emperor could not persuade himself that Francis really intended to debase the royal blood of France by an alliance with Catharine, whose ancestors had been so lately private citizens and merchants in Florence, and believed that he meant only to flatter or amuse the ambitious Pontiff. He thought it necessary, however, to efface the impression which such a dazzling offer might have made, by promising to break off the marriage which had been agreed on between his own niece the King of Denmark's daughter, and the Duke of Milan, and to substitute Catharine in her place. But the French ambassador's producing unexpectedly full powers to conclude the marriage treaty with the duke of Orleans, this expedient had no effect. Clement was so highly pleased with an honour which added such lustre and dignity to the house of Medici, that he offered to grant Catharine the investiture of considerable territories in Italy by way of portion; he seemed ready to support Francis in prosecuting his ancient claims in that country, and consented to a personal interview with that Monarch [h].

Interview tween the Pope and Francis.

Charles was at the utmost pains to prevent a meeting, in which nothing was likely to pass

[h] Guic. l. xx. 551, 533. Bellay, 138.

but

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but what would be of detriment to him; nor could he bear, after he had twice condescended to visit the Pope in his own territories, that Clement should bestow such a mark of distinction on his rival, as to venture on a voyage by sea, at an unfavourable season, in order to pay court to Francis in the French dominions. But the Pope's eagerness to accomplish the match overcame all scruples of pride, or fear, or jealousy, which must have influenced him on any other occasion. The interview, notwithstanding several artifices of the Emperor to prevent it, took place at Marseilles with extraordinary pomp, and demonstrations of confidence on both sides; and the marriage, which the ambition and abilities of Catharine rendered in the sequel as fatal to France, as it was then thought dishonourable, was consummated. But whatever schemes may have been secretly concerted by the Pope and Francis in favour of the duke of Orleans, to whom his father proposed to make over all his rights in Italy, so careful were they to avoid giving any cause of offence to the Emperor, that no treaty was concluded between them [h]; and even in the marriage-articles, Catharine renounced all claims and pretensions in Italy, except to the duchy of Urbino [i]. October.

[h] Guic. l. xx. 555.

[i] Du Mont Corps Diplom. iv. p. ii. 101.

Book V. 1533. Pope's conduct with regard to the King of England's divorce.

But at the very time when he was carrying on these negociations, and forming this connection with Francis, which gave so great umbrage to the Emperor, such was the artifice and duplicity of Clement's character, that he suffered the latter to direct all his proceedings with regard to the King of England, and was no less attentive to gratify him in that particular, than if the most cordial union had still subsisted between them. Henry's suit for a divorce had now continued near six years; during all which period the Pope negociated, promised, retracted, and concluded nothing. After bearing repeated delays and disappointments, longer than could have been expected from a prince of such a choleric and impetuous temper, his patience was at last so much exhausted, that he applied to another tribunal for that decree which he had solicited in vain at Rome. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, by a sentence founded on the authority of Universities, Doctors, and Rabbies, who had been consulted with respect to the point, annulled the King's marriage with Catharine; her daughter was declared illegitimate; and Anne Boleyn acknowledged as Queen of England. At the same time Henry began not only to neglect and to threaten the Pope whom he had hitherto courted, but to make innovations in the church, of which he had formerly been such a zealous defender. Clement, who

had already ſeen ſo many provinces and kingdoms revolt from the Holy See, became apprehenſive at laſt that England would imitate their example, and partly from his ſolicitude to prevent that fatal blow, partly in compliance with the French King's ſolicitations, determined to give Henry ſuch ſatisfaction as might ſtill retain him within the boſom of the church. But the violence of the Cardinals, devoted to the Emperor, did not allow the Pope leiſure for executing this prudent reſolution, and hurried him, with a precipitation fatal to the Roman See, to iſſue a bull reſcinding Cranmer's ſentence, confirming Henry's marriage with Catharine, and declaring him excommunicated, if, within a time ſpecified, he did not abandon the wife he had taken, and return to her whom he had deſerted. Enraged at this unexpected decree, Henry kept no longer any meaſures with the court of Rome; his ſubjects ſeconded his reſentment and indignation; an act of Parliament was paſſed, aboliſhing the papal power and juriſdiction in England; by another, the King was declared ſupreme head of the church, and all the authority of which the Popes were deprived was veſted in him. That vaſt fabric of eccleſiaſtical dominion which had been raiſed with ſuch art, and whoſe foundations ſeemed ſo deep, being no longer ſupported by the veneration of the people, was overturned in a moment. Henry himſelf,

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Papal authority aboliſhed in England.

Book V. 1534. himſelf, with the caprice peculiar to his character, continued to defend the doctrines of the Romiſh church as fiercely as he attacked its juriſdiction. He alternately perſecuted the Proteſtants for rejecting the former, and the Catholics for acknowledging the latter. But his ſubjects being once permitted to enter into new paths, did not chuſe to ſtop ſhort at the preciſe point preſcribed by him. Having been encouraged by his example to break ſome of their fetters, they were ſo impatient to ſhake off all that remained [k], that in the following reign, with the general applauſe of the nation, a total ſeparation was made from the church of Rome in articles of doctrine, as well as in matters of diſcipline and juriſdiction.

Death of Clement VII.

A SHORT delay might have ſaved the See of Rome from all the unhappy conſequences of Clement's raſhneſs. Soon after his ſentence againſt Henry, he fell into a languiſhing diſtemper, which gradually waſting his conſtitution,

Sept. 25.

put an end to his Pontificate, the moſt unfortunate, both during its continuance, and by its effects, that the church had known for many

Election of Paul III. Oct. 13.

ages. The very day on which the Cardinals entered the conclave, they raiſed to the papal throne Alexander Farneſe, dean of the ſacred college, and the eldeſt member of that body,

[k] Herbert. Burn. Hiſt. of Reform.

who

who aſſumed the name of Paul III. The account of his promotion was received with extraordinary acclamations of joy by the people of Rome, highly pleaſed, after an interval of more than an hundred years, to ſee the crown of St. Peter placed on the head of a Roman citizen. Perſons more capable of judging, formed a favourable preſage of his adminiſtration, from the experience which he had acquired under four Pontificates, as well as the character of prudence and moderation which he had uniformly maintained in a ſtation of great eminence, and during an active period that required both talents and addreſs [1]. Book V. 1534.

Europe, it is probable, owed the continuance of its peace to the death of Clement; for although no traces remain in hiſtory of any league concluded between him and Francis, it is hardly to be doubted but that he would have ſeconded the operations of the French arms in Italy, that he might have gratified his ambition by ſeeing one of his family poſſeſſed of the ſupreme power in Florence, and another in Milan. But upon the election of Paul III. who had hitherto adhered uniformly to the Imperial intereſt, Francis found it neceſſary to ſuſpend his operations for ſome time, and to put off the com-

[1] Guic. l. xx. 556. F. Paul, 64.

Book V. 1534. mencement of hoſtilities againſt the Emperor, on which he was fully determined.

Inſurrection of the Anabaptiſts in Germany.

While Francis waited for an opportunity to renew a war which had hitherto proved ſo fatal to himſelf and his ſubjects, a tranſaction of a very ſingular nature was carried on in Germany. Among many beneficial and ſalutary effects of which the Reformation was the immediate cauſe, it was attended, as muſt be the caſe, in all actions and events wherein men are concerned, with ſome conſequences of an oppoſite nature. When the human mind is rouzed by grand objects, and agitated by ſtrong paſſions, its operations acquire ſuch force, that they are apt to become irregular and extravagant. Upon any great revolution in religion, ſuch irregularities abound moſt, at that particular period, when men, having thrown off the authority of their ancient principles, do not yet fully comprehend the nature, or feel the obligation of thoſe new tenets which they have embraced. The mind, in that ſituation, puſhing forward with the boldneſs which prompted it to reject eſtabliſhed opinions, and not guided by a clear knowledge of the ſyſtem ſubſtituted in their place, diſdains all reſtraint, and runs into wild notions, that often lead to ſcandalous or immoral conduct. Thus, in the firſt ages of the Chriſtian church, many of the new converts, having renounced their an-

cient

cient Creeds, and being but imperfectly acquainted with the doctrines and precepts of Christianity, broached the most extravagant opinions, equally subversive of piety and virtue; all which errors disappeared or were exploded when the knowledge of religion increased, and came to be more generally diffused. In like manner, soon after Luther's appearance, the rashness or ignorance of some of his disciples led them to publish tenets no less absurd than pernicious, which being proposed to men extremely illiterate, but fond of novelty, and at a time when their minds were turned wholly towards religious speculations, gained too easy credit and authority among them. To these causes must be imputed the extravagancies of Muncer, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-five, as well as the rapid progress which they made among the peasants; but though the insurrection excited by that Fanatic was soon suppressed, several of his followers lurked in different places, and endeavoured privately to propagate his opinions.

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In those provinces of Upper Germany, which had already been so cruelly wasted by their enthusiastic rage, the magistrates watched their motions with such severe attention, that many of them found it necessary to retire into other countries; some were punished, others driven into

Origin and tenets of that sect.

into exile, and their errors were entirely rooted out. But in the Netherlands and Weſtphalia, where the pernicious tendency of their opinions was more unknown, and guarded againſt with leſs care, they got admittance into ſeveral towns, and ſpread the infection of their principles. The moſt remarkable of their religious tenets related to the Sacrament of Baptiſm, which, as they contended, ought to be adminiſtered only to perſons grown up to years of underſtanding, and ſhould be performed not by ſprinkling them with water, but by dipping them in it: For this reaſon they condemned the baptiſm of infants, and rebaptizing all whom they admitted into their ſociety, the ſect came to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of Anabaptiſts. To this peculiar notion concerning baptiſm, which has the appearance of being founded on the practice of the church in the apoſtolic age, and contains nothing inconſiſtent with the peace and order of human ſociety, they added other principles of a moſt enthuſiaſtic, as well as dangerous nature. They maintained that, among Chriſtians who had the precepts of the goſpel to direct, and the ſpirit of God to guide them, the office of magiſtracy was not only unneceſſary, but an unlawful encroachment on their ſpiritual liberty; that the diſtinctions occaſioned by birth, or rank, or wealth, being contrary to the ſpirit of the goſpel, which conſiders all men as equal, ſhould be entirely

tirely aboliſhed; that all Chriſtians, throwing their poſſeſſions into one common ſtock, ſhould live together in that ſtate of equality which becomes members of the ſame family; that as neither the laws of nature, nor the precepts of the New Teſtament had placed any reſtraints upon men with regard to the number of wives which they might marry, they ſhould uſe that liberty which God himſelf had granted to the patriarchs. Book V. 1534.

Such opinions, propagated and maintained with enthuſiaſtic zeal and boldneſs, were not long of producing the violent effects natural to them. Two Anabaptiſt prophets, John Matthias, a baker of Haerlem, and John Boccold, or Beükels, a journeyman taylor of Leyden, poſſeſſed with the rage of making proſelytes, fixed their reſidence at Munſter, an Imperial city in Weſtphalia, of the firſt rank, under the ſovereignty of its biſhop, but governed by its own ſenate and conſuls. As neither of theſe Fanatics wanted the talents requiſite for the moſt deſperate enterprize, great reſolution, the appearance of ſanctity, bold pretenſions to inſpiration, and a confident and plauſible manner of diſcourſing, they ſoon gained many converts. Among theſe were Rothman, who had firſt preached the Proteſtant doctrine in Munſter, and Cnipperdoling, a citizen of good birth, and conſiderable emi- Settle in Munſter.

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nence. Emboldened by the countenance of ſuch diſciples, they openly taught their opinions; and not ſatisfied with that liberty, they made ſeveral attempts, though without ſucceſs, to ſeize the town, in order to get their tenets eſtabliſhed by public authority. At laſt, having ſecretly called in their aſſociates from the neighbouring country, they ſuddenly took poſſeſſion of the arſenal and ſenate-houſe in the night-time, and running through the ſtreets with drawn ſwords, and horrible howlings, cried out alternately, "Repent, and be baptized," and "Depart ye ungodly." The ſenators, the canons, the nobility, together with the more ſober citizens, whether Papiſts or Proteſtants, terrified at their threats and outcries, fled in confuſion, and left the city under the dominion of a frantic multitude, conſiſting chiefly of ſtrangers. Nothing now remaining to overawe or controul them, they ſet about modelling the government according to their own wild ideas; and though at firſt they ſhowed ſo much reverence for the ancient conſtitution, as to elect ſenators of their own ſect, and to appoint Cnipperdoling and another proſelyte conſuls, this was nothing more than form; for all their proceedings were directed by Matthias, who, in the ſtile, and with the authority of a prophet, uttered his commands, which it was inſtant death to diſobey. Having begun with encouraging the multitude to pillage the

Become maſters of that city.

February.

Eſtabliſh a new form of government.

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the churches, and deface their ornaments; he enjoined them to destroy all books except the Bible, as useless or impious; he appointed the estates of such as fled, to be confiscated, and sold to the inhabitants of the adjacent country; he ordered every man to bring forth his gold, silver, and precious effects, and to lay them at his feet; the wealth amassed by these means, he deposited in a public treasury, and named deacons to dispense it for the common use of all. The members of his commonwealth being thus brought to a perfect equality, he commanded all of them to eat at tables prepared in public, and even prescribed the dishes which were to be served up each day. Having finished his plan of Reformation, his next care was to provide for the defence of the city; and he took measures for that purpose with a prudence which savoured nothing of fanaticism. He collected vast magazines of every kind; he repaired and extended the fortifications, obliging every person without distinction to work in his turn; he formed such as were capable of bearing arms into regular bodies, and endeavoured to add the vigour of discipline to the impetuosity of enthusiasm. He sent emissaries to the Anabaptists in the Low-Countries, inviting them to assemble at Munster, which he dignified with the name of Mount-Sion, that from thence they might set out to reduce all the nations of the earth under their dominion. He

 himself

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himself was unwearied in attending to every thing necessary for the security or increase of the sect; animating his disciples by his own example to refuse no labour, as well as to repine at no hardship; and their enthusiastic passions being kept from subsiding by a perpetual succession of exhortations, revelations and prophecies, they seemed ready to undertake or to suffer any thing in maintenance of their opinions.

The bishop of Munster takes arms against them.

MEANWHILE, the bishop of Munster having assembled a considerable army, advanced to besiege the town. On his approach, Matthias sallied out at the head of some chosen troops, attacked one quarter of his camp, forced it, and after great slaughter, returned to the city loaded with glory and spoil. Intoxicated with this success, he appeared next day brandishing a spear, and declared, that, in imitation of Gideon, he would go forth with a handful of men and smite the host of the ungodly. Thirty persons, whom he named, followed him without hesitation in this wild enterprize, and rushing on the enemy with a frantic courage were cut off to a man. The death of their prophet occasioned at first great consternation among his disciples, but Boccold, by the same gifts and pretensions which had gained Matthias credit, soon revived their spirits and hopes to such a degree, that he succeeded him in the same absolute direction of all their

May.

John of Leyden acquires great authority among the Anabaptists.

their affairs. As he did not possess that enterprizing courage which distinguished his predecessor, he satisfied himself with carrying on a defensive war, and without attempting to annoy the enemy by sallies, he waited for the succours he expected from the Low-Countries, the arrival of which was often foretold and promised by their prophets. But though less daring in action than Matthias, he was a wilder enthusiast, and of more unbounded ambition. Soon after the death of his predecessor, having, by obscure visions and prophecies, prepared the multitude for some extraordinary event, he stripped himself naked, and marching through the streets, proclaimed with a loud voice, "That the kingdom of Sion was at hand; that whatever was highest on earth should be brought low, and whatever was lowest should be exalted." In order to fulfil this, he commanded the churches, as the most lofty buildings in the city, to be levelled with the ground; he degraded the senators chosen by Matthias, and depriving Cnipperdoling of the consulship, the highest office in the commonwealth, he appointed him to execute the lowest and most infamous, that of common hangman, to which strange transition the other agreed, not only without murmuring, but with the utmost joy; and such was the despotic rigour of Boccold's administration, that he was called almost every day to perform some duty or

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other of his wretched function. In place of the deposed senators, he named twelve judges, according to the number of tribes in Israel, to preside in all affairs; retaining to himself the same authority which Moses anciently possessed as legislator of that people.

Elected King.

Not satisfied, however, with power or titles which were not supreme, a prophet, whom he had gained and tutored, having called the multitude together, declared it to be the will of God, that John Boccold should be King of Sion, and sit on the throne of David. John kneeling down, accepted of the heavenly call, which he solemnly protested had been revealed likewise to himself, and was immediately acknowledged as Monarch by the deluded multitude. From that moment he assumed all the state and pomp of royalty. He wore a crown of gold, and was clad in the richest and most sumptuous garments. A Bible was carried on his one hand, a naked sword on the other. A great body of guards accompanied him when he appeared in public. He coined money stamped with his own image, and appointed the great officers of his household and kingdom, among whom Cnipperdoling was nominated governor of the city, as a reward for his former submission.

June 24.

His licentious tenets and conduct.

Having now attained the heighth of power, Boccold began to discover passions, which he had

had hitherto reſtrained or indulged only in ſecret. As the exceſſes of enthuſiaſm have been obſerved in every age to lead to ſenſual gratifications, the ſame conſtitution that is ſuſceptible of the former, being remarkably prone to the latter, he inſtructed the prophets and teachers to harangue the people for ſeveral days concerning the lawfulneſs, and even neceſſity of taking more wives than one, which they aſſerted to be one of the privileges granted by God to the ſaints. When their ears were once accuſtomed to this licentious doctrine, and their paſſions inflamed with the proſpect of ſuch unbounded indulgence, he himſelf ſet them an example of uſing what he called their Chriſtian liberty, by marrying at once three wives, among which the widow of Matthias, a woman of ſingular beauty, was one. As he was allured by beauty, or the love of variety, he gradually added to the number of his wives until they amounted to fourteen, though the widow of Matthias was the only one dignified with the title of Queen, or who ſhared with him the ſplendor and ornaments of royalty. After the example of their prophet, the multitude gave themſelves up to the moſt licentious and uncontrouled gratification of their deſires. No man remained ſatisfied with a ſingle wife. Not to uſe their Chriſtian liberty, was deemed a crime. Perſons were appointed to ſearch the houſes for young women grown up to maturity, whom

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whom they inſtantly compelled to marry. Together with polygamy, freedom of divorce, its inſeparable attendant, was introduced, and became a new ſource of corruption. Every exceſs was committed of which the paſſions of men are capable, when reſtrained neither by the authority of laws nor the ſenſe of decency[m]; and by a monſtrous and almoſt incredible conjunction, voluptuouſneſs was engrafted on religion, and diſſolute riot accompanied the auſterities of fanatical devotion.

A confederacy againſt the Anabaptiſts.

MEANWHILE, the German princes were highly offended at the inſult offered to their dignity by Boccold's preſumptuous uſurpation of royal honours; and the profligate manners of his followers, which were a reproach to the Chriſtian

[m] Prophetæ & concionatorum autoritate juxta et exemplo, totâ urbe ad rapiendas pulcherrimas quaſque fœminas diſcurſum eſt. Nec intra paucos dies, in tanta hominum turbâ, fere ulla reperta eſt ſupra animum decimum quartum, quæ ſtuprum paſſa non fuerit. Lamb. Hortenſ. p. 303. Vulgò viris quinas eſſe uxores, pluribus ſenas, nonnullis ſeptenas & octonas. Puellas ſupra duodecimum ætatis annum ſtatim amare. Id. 305. Nemo una contentus fuit, neque cuiquam extra effœtas & viris immaturas continenti eſſe licuit. Id. 307. Tacebo hîc, ut ſit ſuus honor auribus, quanta barbarie et malitia uſi ſunt in puellis vitiandis nondum aptis matrimonio, id quod mihi neque ex vano, neque ex vulgi ſermonibus hauſtum eſt, ſed ex ea vetula, cui cura ſic vitiatarum demandata fuit, auditum. Joh. Corvinus, 316.

name,

name, filled men of all professions with horror. Luther, who had testified against this fanatical spirit on its first appearance, now deeply lamented its progress, and exposing the delusion with great strength of argument, as well as acrimony of stile, called loudly on all the states of Germany to put a stop to a phrenzy no less pernicious to society, than fatal to religion. The Emperor, occupied with other cares and projects, had not leisure to attend to such a distant object. But the princes of the Empire, assembled by the King of the Romans, voted a supply of men and money to the bishop of Munster, who being unable to keep a sufficient army on foot, had converted the siege of the town into a blockade. The forces raised in consequence of this resolution, were put under the command of an officer of experience, who approaching the town towards the end of Spring in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-five, pressed it more closely than formerly, but found the fortifications so strong, and so diligently guarded, that he durst not attempt an assault. It was now above fifteen months since the Anabaptists had established their dominion in Munster; they had during that time undergone prodigious fatigue in working on the fortifications, and performing military duty. Notwithstanding the prudent attention of their King to provide for their subsistence, and his frugal as well as regular œco-

Book V. 1535.

Besiege the town.

May. Distress and fanaticism of the besieged.

 nomy

Book V. 1535.

nomy in their public meals, they began to feel the approach of famine. Several ſmall bodies of their brethren, who were advancing to their aſſiſtance from the Low-Countries, had been intercepted, and cut to pieces; and while all Germany was ready to combine againſt them, they had no proſpect of ſuccour. But ſuch was the aſcendant which Boccold had acquired over the multitude, and ſo powerful the faſcination of enthuſiaſm, that their hopes were as ſanguine as ever, and they hearkened with implicit credulity to the viſions and predictions of their prophets, which aſſured them, that the Almighty would ſpeedily interpoſe, in order to deliver the city. The faith, however, of ſome few, ſhaken by the violence and length of their ſufferings, began to fail; but being ſuſpected of an inclination to ſurrender to the enemy, they were puniſhed with immediate death, as guilty of impiety in diſtruſting the power of God. One of the King's wives, having uttered certain words that implied ſome doubt concerning his divine miſſion, he inſtantly called the whole number together, and commanding the blaſphemer, as he called her, to kneel down, cut off her head with his own hands; and ſo far were the reſt from expreſſing any horror at this cruel deed, that they joined him in dancing with a frantic joy around the bleeding body of their companion.

By

1535.

The city taken. June 1.

By this time, the besieged endured the utmost rigor of famine; but they chose rather to suffer hardships, the recital of which is shocking to humanity, than to listen to the terms of capitution offered them by the bishop. At last, a deserter, whom they had taken into their service, being either less intoxicated with the fumes of enthusiasm, or unable any longer to bear such distress, made his escape to the enemy. He informed their general of a weak part in the fortifications which he had observed, and assuring him that the besieged, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, kept watch there with little care, he offered to lead a party thither in the night. The proposal was accepted, and a chosen body of troops appointed for the service; who, scaling the walls unperceived, seized one of the gates, and admitted the rest of the army. The Anabaptists, though surprized, defended themselves in the market-place with valour, heightened by despair; but being overpowered by numbers, and surrounded on every hand, most of them were slain, and the remainder taken prisoners. Among the last were the King and Cnipperdoling. The King, loaded with chains, was carried from city to city as a spectacle to gratify the curiosity of the people, and was exposed to all their insults. His spirit, however, was not broken or humbled by this sad reverse of his condition; and he adhered with unshaken

June 24.

Punishment of the King and his associates.

firmness

BOOK V. 1535.

firmneſs to the diſtinguiſhing tenets of his ſect. After this, he was brought back to Munſter, the ſcene of his royalty and crimes, and put to death with the moſt exquiſite as well as lingering tortures, all which he bore with aſtoniſhing fortitude. This extraordinary man, who had been able to acquire ſuch amazing dominion over the minds of his followers, and to excite commotions ſo dangerous to ſociety, was only twenty-ſix years of age [n].

Character of the ſect ſince that period.

TOGETHER with its Monarch, the kingdom of the Anabaptiſts came to an end. Their principles having taken deep root in the Low-Countries, the party ſtill ſubſiſts there, under the name of Mennonites; but by a very ſingular revolution, this ſect, ſo mutinous and ſanguinary at its firſt origin, hath become altogether innocent and pacific. Holding it unlawful to wage war, or to accept of civil offices, they devote themſelves entirely to the duties of private citizens, and by their induſtry and charity endeavour to make reparation to human ſociety for the violence committed by their founders [o]. A

[n] Sleid. 190, &c. Tumultuum Anabaptiſtarum Liber unus. Ant. Lamberto Hortenſio auctore ap. Scardium, vol. ii. p. 298, &c. De Miſerabili Monaſterienſium obſidione, &c. libellus Antonii Corvini ap. Scard. 313. Annales Anaptiſtici a Joh. Henrico Ottio, 4to. Baſileæ, 1672. Cor. Heerſbachius Hiſt. Anab. Edit. 1637. p. 140.

[o] Bayle Diction. Art. *Anabaptiſtes*.

6 ſmall

ſmall number of this ſect which is ſettled in England, retain its peculiar tenets concerning baptiſm, but without any dangerous mixture of enthuſiaſm. Book V. 1535.

The mutiny of the Anabaptiſts, though it drew general attention, did not ſo entirely engroſs the princes of Germany, as not to allow leiſure for other tranſactions. The alliance between the French King and the confederates at Smalkalde, began about this time to produce great effects. Ulric, Duke of Wurtemberg, having been expelled his dominions in the year one thouſand five hundred and nineteen, on account of his violent and oppreſſive adminiſtration, the houſe of Auſtria had got poſſeſſion of his dutchy. That prince having now by a long exile atoned for the errors in his conduct, which were the effect rather of inexperience than of a tyrannical diſpoſition, was become the object of general compaſſion. The Landgrave of Heſſe, in particular, his near relation, warmly eſpouſed his intereſt, and uſed many efforts to recover for him his ancient inheritance. But the King of the Romans obſtinately refuſed to relinquiſh a valuable acquiſition which his family had made with ſo much eaſe. The Landgrave, unable to compel him, applied to the King of France his new ally. Francis, eager to embrace any opportunity of diſtreſſing the houſe of Auſtria, and deſirous

Proceedings and authority of the league of Smalkalde.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S S...

Book V. 1535. desirous of wresting from it a territory, which gave it footing and influence in a part of Germany at a distance from its other dominions, encouraged the Landgrave to take arms, and secretly supplied him with a large sum of money. This he employed to raise troops, and marching with great expedition towards Wurtemberg, attacked, defeated, and dispersed a considerable body of Austrians, entrusted with the defence of the country. All the Duke's subjects hastened, with emulation, to receive their native Prince, and re-invested him with that authority which is still enjoyed by his descendants. At the same time the exercise of the Protestant religion was established in his dominions [p].

The King of the Romans courts them. FERDINAND, how sensible soever of this unexpected blow, not daring to attack a Prince whom all the Protestant powers in Germany were ready to support, judged it expedient to conclude a treaty with him, by which he recognized in the most ample form his title to the dutchy. The success of the Landgrave's operations in behalf of the Duke of Wurtemberg, having convinced Ferdinand that a rupture with a league so formidable as that of Smalkalde, was to be avoided with the utmost care, he entered likewise into a negociation with the Elector of

[p] Sleid. 172. Bellay, 159, &c.

Saxony,

Saxony, the head of that union, and by ſome concesſions in favour of the Proteſtant religion, and others of advantage to the Elector himſelf, he prevailed on him, together with his confederates, to acknowledge his title as King of the Romans. At the ſame time, in order to prevent any ſuch precipitate or irregular election in times to come, it was agreed that no perſon ſhould hereafter be promoted to that dignity without the unanimous conſent of the Electors; and the Emperor ſoon after confirmed this ſtipulation [q].

Book V. 1535.

Paul III. calls a general council to meet at Mantua.

THESE acts of indulgence towards the Proteſtants, and the cloſe union into which the King of the Romans ſeemed to be entering with the Princes of that party, gave great offence at Rome. Paul III. though he had departed from a reſolution of his predeceſſor, never to conſent to the calling of a general council, and had promiſed, in the firſt conſiſtory held after his election, that he would convoke that aſſembly ſo much deſired by all Chriſtendom, was no leſs enraged than Clement at the innovations in Germany, and no leſs averſe to any ſcheme for reforming either the doctrines of the church, or the abuſes in the court of Rome: But having been a witneſs of the univerſal cenſure which Clement had incurred by his obſtinacy with re-

q Sleid. 173. Corps Diplom. tom. iv. p. 2. 119.

gard

Book V. 1535. gard to these points, he hoped to avoid the same reproach by the seeming alacrity with which he proposed a council; flattering himself, however, that such difficulties would arise concerning the time and place of meeting, the persons who had a right to be present, and the order of their proceedings, as would effectually defeat the intention of those who demanded that assembly, without exposing himself to any imputation for refusing to call it. With this view he dispatched nuncios to the several courts, in order to make known his intention, and that he had fixed on Mantua as a proper place in which to hold the council. Such difficulties as the Pope had foreseen, immediately presented themselves in great number. The French King did not approve of the place which Paul had chosen, as the Papal and Imperial influence would necessarily be too great in a town situated in that part of Italy. The King of England not only concurred with Francis in urging that objection, but refused, besides, to acknowledge any council called in the name and by the authority of the Pope. The German Protestants having met together at Smalkalde, insisted on their original demand of a council to be held in Germany, and pleading the Emperor's promise, as well as the agreement at Ratisbon to that effect, declared that they would not consider an assembly held at Mantua as a legal or free representative of the church.

Dec. 12.

By

By this diverſity of ſentiments and views, ſuch a field for intrigue and negociation opened, as made it eaſy for the Pope to aſſume the merit of being eager to aſſemble a council, while at the ſame time he could put off its meeting at pleaſure. The Proteſtants on the other hand ſuſpecting his deſigns, and ſenſible of the importance which they derived from their union, renewed for ten years the league of Smalkalde, which now became ſtronger and more formidable by the acceſſion of ſeveral new members [r]. BOOK V. 1535.

The Emperor's expedition to Africa, and ſtate of that country.

DURING theſe tranſactions in Germany, the Emperor undertook his famous enterprize againſt the piratical ſtates in Africa. That part of the African continent lying along the coaſt of the Mediterranean ſea, which anciently formed the kingdoms of Mauritania and Maſſylia, together

[r] This league was concluded December, one thouſand five hundred and thirty-five, but not extended or ſigned in form till September in the following year. The Princes who acceded to it were John Elector of Saxony, Erneſt Duke of Brunſwick, Philip Landgrave of Heſſe, Ulric Duke of Wurtemberg, Barnim and Philip Dukes of Pomerania, John George, and Joachim Princes of Anhalt, Gebhard and Albert Counts of Mansfield, William Count of Naſſau. The cities, Straſburg, Nuremburg, Conſtance, Ulm, Magdeburg, Bremen, Reutlingen, Hailbron, Memmengen, Lindaw, Campen, Iſna, Bibrac, Windſheim, Auſburg, Francfort, Eſling, Brunſwick, Goſlar, Hanover, Gottingen, Eimbeck, Hamburg, Minden.

with

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with the republic of Carthage, and which is now known by the general name of Barbary, had undergone many revolutions. Subdued by the Romans, it became a province of their empire. Conquered afterwards by the Vandals, they erected a kingdom there. That being overturned by Belisarius, the country continued subject to the Greek Emperors, until it was overrun towards the end of the seventh century, by the rapid and irresistible arms of the Arabs. It remained for some time a part of that vast empire of which the Caliphs were the head. Its immense distance, however, from the seat of government, encouraged the descendants of those leaders, who had subdued the country, or the chiefs of the Moors, its ancient inhabitants, to throw off the yoke, and to set up for independence. The Caliphs, who derived their authority from a spirit of enthusiasm, more fitted for making conquests than for preserving them, were obliged to connive at acts of rebellion which they could not prevent; and Barbary was divided into several kingdoms, of which Morocco, Algiers and Tunis were the most considerable. The inhabitants of these kingdoms were a mixed race, Arabs, Negroes from the southern provinces, and Moors, either natives of Africa, or who had been expelled out of Spain; all zealous professors of the Mahometan religion, and inflamed against Christianity with a bigotted hatred

proportional to their ignorance and barbarous manners. Book V. 1535.

Among these people, no less daring, inconstant and treacherous, than the ancient inhabitants of the same country described by the Roman historians, frequent seditions broke out, and many changes in government took place. These, as they affected only the internal state of a country so barbarous, are but little known, and deserve to be so: But about the beginning of the sixteenth century a sudden revolution happened, which by rendering the states of Barbary formidable to the Europeans, hath made their history worthy of more attention. This revolution was brought about by persons born in a rank of life which entitled them to act no such illustrious part. Horuc and Hayradin, the sons of a potter in the Isle of Lesbos, prompted by a restless and enterprizing spirit, forsook their father's trade, ran to sea, and joined a crew of pirates. They soon distinguished themselves by their valour and activity, and becoming masters of a small brigantine, carried on their infamous trade with such conduct and success, that they assembled a fleet of twelve galleys, besides many vessels of smaller force. Of this fleet Horuc, the elder brother, called Barbarossa from the red colour of his beard, was admiral, and Hayradin second in command, but with almost equal authority.

Rise of the piratical states,

and of the Barbarossas.

BOOK V. They called themselves the friends of the sea, and the enemies of all who sail upon it; and their names soon became terrible from the Straits of the Dardanels to those of Gibraltar. Together with their fame and power, their ambitious views extended, and while acting as Corsairs they adopted the ideas, and acquired the talents of conquerors. They often carried the prizes which they took on the coasts of Spain and Italy into the ports of Barbary, and enriching the inhabitants by the sale of their booty, and the thoughtless prodgiality of their crews, were welcome guests in every place at which they touched. The convenient situation of these harbours, lying so near the greatest commercial states at that time in Christendom, made the brothers wish for an establishment in that country. An opportunity of accomplishing this quickly presented itself, which they did not suffer to pass unimproved. Eutemi, King of Algiers, having attempted several times, without success, to take a fort which the Spanish governors of Oran had built not far from his capital, was so ill advised as to apply for aid to Barbarossa, whose valour the Africans considered as irresistible. The active Corsair gladly accepted of the invitation, and leaving his brother Hayradin with the fleet, marched at the head of five thousand men to Algiers, where he was received as their deliverer. Such a force gave him the command of the town;

1535.

1516.

town; and as he perceived that the Moors neither ſuſpected him of any bad intention, nor were capable with their light-armed troops of oppoſing his diſciplined veterans, he ſecretly murdered the Monarch whom he had come to aſſiſt, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King of Algiers in his ſtead. The authority which he had thus boldly uſurped, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh by arts ſuited to the genius of the people whom he had to govern; by liberality without bounds to thoſe who favoured his promotion, and by cruelty no leſs unbounded towards all whom he had any reaſon to diſtruſt. Not ſatisfied with the throne which he had acquired, he attacked the neighbouring King of Tremecen, and having vanquiſhed him in battle, added his dominions to thoſe of Algiers. At the ſame time, he continued to infeſt the coaſts of Spain and Italy with fleets which reſembled the armaments of a great Monarch, rather than the light ſquadrons of a Corſair. The devaſtations which theſe committed, obliged Charles, about the beginning of his reign, to furniſh the marquis de Comares, governor of Oran, with troops ſufficient to attack him. That officer, aſſiſted by the dethroned King of Tremecen, executed the commiſſion with ſuch ſpirit, that Barbaroſſa's troops being beat in ſeveral encounters, he himſelf was ſhut up in Tremecen; after defending it to the laſt extremity, he was overtaken in attempting

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Horuc, the elder brother, becomes maſter of Algiers.

1518.

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tempting to make his escape, and slain while he fought with an obstinate valour, worthy of his former fame and exploits.

The progress of Hayradin the second brother.

HIS brother Hayradin, known likewise by the name of Barbarossa, assumed the sceptre of Algiers with the same ambition and abilities, but with better fortune. His reign being undisturbed by the arms of the Spaniards, which had full occupation in the wars among the European powers, he regulated with admirable prudence the interior police of his kingdom, carried on his naval operations with great vigour, and extended his conquests on the continent of Africa. But, perceiving that the Moors and Arabs submitted to his government with the utmost impatience, and being afraid that his continual depredations would, one day, draw upon him the arms of the Christians, he put his dominions under the protection of the Grand Seignior, and received from him a body of Turkish soldiers sufficient for his security against his domestic as well as his foreign enemies. At last, the fame of his exploits daily increasing, Solyman offered him the command of the Turkish fleet, as the only person whose valour and skill in naval affairs entitled him to command against Andrew Doria, the greatest sea-officer of that age. Proud of this distinction, Barbarossa repaired to Constantinople, and with a wonderful versatility of mind, mingling the

Puts his dominions under the protection of the Sultan.

arts

arts of a courtier with the boldneſs of a Corſair, gained the entire confidence both of the Sultan and his Vizier. To them he communicated a ſcheme that he had formed of making himſelf maſter of Tunis, the moſt flouriſhing kingdom, at that time, on the coaſt of Africa; which being approved of by them, he obtained whatever he demanded for carrying it into execution. Book V. 1535.

His ſcheme for conquering Tunis.

His hopes of ſucceſs in this undertaking were founded on the inteſtine diviſions in the kingdom of Tunis. Mahmed, the laſt King of that country, having thirty-four ſons by different wives, named Muley-Haſcen, one of the youngeſt among them, his ſucceſſor. That weak Prince, who owed this preference not to his own merit, but to the aſcendant which his mother had acquired over an old doating Monarch, firſt poiſoned his father in order to prevent him from altering his deſtination; and then, with the barbarous policy which prevails wherever polygamy is permitted, and the right of ſucceſſion is not preciſely fixed, he put to death all his brothers whom he could get into his power. Alraſchid, one of the eldeſt, was ſo fortunate as to eſcape his rage; and finding a retreat among the wandering Arabs, made ſeveral attempts, by the aſſiſtance of ſome of their chiefs, to recover the throne, which of right belonged to him. But theſe proving unſucceſsful, and the Arabs,

 from

Book V. 1535

from their natural levity, being ready to deliver him up to his mercilefs brother, he fled to Algiers, the only place of refuge remaining, and implored the protection of Barbaroffa; who, difcerning at once all the advantages that might be gained by fupporting his title, received him with every poffible demonftration of friendfhip and refpect. Being ready, at that time, to fet fail for Conftantinople, he eafily perfuaded Alrafchid, whofe eagernefs to obtain a crown difpofed him to believe or undertake any thing, to accompany him thither, promifing him effectual affiftance from Solyman, whom he reprefented to be the moft generous, as well as moft powerful, Monarch in the world. But no fooner were they arrived at Conftantinople, than the falfe Corfair, regardlefs of all his promifes to him, opened to the Sultan a plan for conquering Tunis, and annexing it to the Turkifh empire, by making ufe of the name of this exiled Prince, and by means of the party ready to declare in his favour. Solyman approved, with too much facility, of this perfidious propofal, extremely fuitable to the character of its author, but altogether unworthy of a great Prince. A powerful fleet and numerous army were foon affembled; at the fight of which the credulous Alrafchid flattered himfelf, that he would foon enter his capital in triumph.

1535.

Its success.

But just as this unhappy Prince was going to embark, he was arrested by order of the Sultan, shut up in the seraglio, and was never heard of more. Barbarossa sailed with a fleet of two hundred and fifty vessels towards Africa. After ravaging the coasts of Italy, and spreading terror through every part of that country, he appeared before Tunis; and landing his men, gave out that he came to assert the right of Alraschid, whom he pretended to have left sick aboard the Admiral galley. The fort of Goletta, which commands the bay, soon fell into his hands, partly by his own address, partly by the treachery of its commander; and the inhabitants of Tunis, weary of Muley-Hascen's government, took arms, and declared for Alraschid with such zeal and unanimity, as obliged the former to fly so precipitately, that he left all his treasures behind him. The gates were immediately set open to Barbarossa, as the restorer of their lawful sovereign. But when Alraschid himself did not appear, and when instead of his name, that of Solyman alone was heard among the acclamations of the Turkish soldiers marching into the town, the people of Tunis began to suspect the Corsair's treachery. Their suspicions being soon converted into certainty, they ran to arms with the utmost fury, and surrounded the citadel, into which Barbarossa had led his troops. But having foreseen such a revolution, he was not unprepared

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prepared for it; he immediately turned against them the artillery on the ramparts, which by one brisk discharge of, together with his small-arms, he dispersed the numerous but undirected assailants, and forced them to acknowledge Solyman as their sovereign, and to submit to himself as his viceroy.

Barbarossa's formidable power.

His first care was to put the kingdom, of which he had thus got possession, in a proper posture of defence. He strengthened the citadel which commands the town; and fortifying the Goletta in a regular manner, at vast expence, made it the principal station for his fleet, and his great arsenal for military as well as naval stores. Being now possessed of such extensive territories, he carried on his depredations against the Christian States to a greater extent, and with more destructive violence than ever. Daily complaints of the outrages committed by his cruizers were brought to the Emperor by his subjects, both in Spain and Italy. All Christendom seemed to expect from him, as its greatest and most fortunate Prince, that he would put an end to this new and odious species of oppression.

The exiled King of Tunis implores the Emperor's assistance. April 21, 1553.

At the same time Muley-Hascen, the exiled King of Tunis, finding none of the Mahometan Princes in Africa willing or able to assist him in recovering his throne, applied to Charles as the only person who could assert his rights in opposition

ſition to ſuch a formidable uſurper. The Emperor, equally deſirous of delivering his dominions from the dangerous neighbourhood of Barbaroſſa; of appearing as the protector of an unfortunate Prince; and of acquiring the glory annexed in that age, to every expedition againſt the Mahometans, readily concluded a treaty with Muley-Haſcen, and began to prepare for invading Tunis. Having made trial of his own abilities for war in the late campaign in Hungary, he was now become ſo fond of the military character, that he determined to command on this occaſion in perſon. The united ſtrength of his dominions was called out upon an enterprize in which the Emperor was about to hazard his glory, and which drew the attention of all Europe. A Flemiſh fleet carried from the ports of the Low-Country a body of German infantry[s]; the gallies of Naples and Sicily took on board the veteran bands of Italians and Spaniards, which had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſo many victories over the French; the Emperor himſelf embarked at Barcelona with the flower of the Spaniſh nobility, and was joined by a conſiderable ſquadron from Portugal, under the command of the Infant Don Lewis, the Empreſs's brother; Andrew Doria conducted his own gallies, the beſt appointed at that time in

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His preparation for the expedition.

[s] Haræi Annales Brabant. i. 599.

Europe,

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Europe, and commanded by the moſt ſkilful officers: The Pope furniſhed all the aſſiſtance in his power towards ſuch a pious enterprize; and the order of Malta, the perpetual enemies of the Infidels, equipped a ſmall ſquadron but formidable by the valour of the knights who ſerved on board it. The port of Cagliari in Sardinia was the general place of rendezvous. Doria was appointed High Admiral of the fleet; the command of the land-forces under the Emperor was given to the marquis di Guaſto.

Lands in Africa.

On the ſixteenth of July, the fleet, conſiſting of near five hundred veſſels, having on board above thirty thouſand regular troops, ſet ſail from Cagliari, and after a proſperous navigation, landed within ſight of Tunis. Barbaroſſa having received early intelligence of the Emperor's immenſe armament, and ſuſpecting its deſtination, prepared with equal prudence and vigour for the defence of his new conqueſt. He called in all his corſairs from their different ſtations; he drew from Algiers what forces could be ſpared; he diſpatched meſſengers to all the African Princes, Moors as well as Arabs, and by repreſenting Muley-Haſcen as an infamous apoſtate, prompted by ambition and revenge, not only to become the vaſſal of a Chriſtian Prince, but to conſpire with him to extirpate the Mahommedan faith, he inflamed thoſe ignorant

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and bigotted chiefs to ſuch a degree, that they took arms as in a common cauſe. Twenty thouſand horſe, together with a vaſt body of foot, ſoon aſſembled at Tunis; and Barbaroſſa, by a proper diſtribution of preſents among them from time to time, kept the ardour which had brought them together from ſubſiding. But as he was too well acquainted with the enemy whom he had to oppoſe, to think that theſe light troops could reſiſt the heavy-armed cavalry and veteran infantry which compoſed the Imperial army, his chief confidence was in the ſtrength of the Goletta, and in his body of Turkiſh ſoldiers who were armed and diſciplined after the European faſhion. Six thouſand of theſe, under the command of Sinan, a renegado Jew, the braveſt and moſt experienced of all his corſairs, he threw into that fort, which the Emperor immediately inveſted. As Charles had the command of the ſea, his camp was ſo plentifully ſupplied not only with the neceſſaries, but with all the luxuries of life, that Muley-Haſcen, who had not been accuſtomed to ſee war carried on with ſuch order and magnificence, was filled with admiration of the Emperor's power. His troops, animated by his preſence, and conſidering it as meritorious to ſhed their blood in ſuch a pious cauſe, contended with each other for the poſts of honour and danger. Three ſeparate attacks were concerted, and the Germans, Spaniards and Italians,

Lays ſiege to Goletta.

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Italians, having one of these committed to each of them, pushed them forward with the eager courage which national emulation inspires. Sinan displayed resolution and skill becoming the confidence which his master had put in him; the garrison performed the hard service on which they were ordered with great fortitude. But though he interrupted the besiegers by frequent sallies; though the Moors and Arabs alarmed the camp with their continual incursions; the breaches soon became so considerable towards the land, while the fleet battered those parts of the fortifications which it could approach, with no less fury and success, that an assault being given on all sides at once, the place was taken by storm. Sinan, with the remains of his garrison, retired, after an obstinate resistance, over a shallow part of the bay towards the city. By the reduction of the Goletta, the Emperor became master of Barbarossa's fleet, consisting of eighty-seven gallies and galliots, together with his arsenal, and three hundred cannon, mostly brass, which were planted on the ramparts; a prodigious number in that age, and a remarkable proof of the strength of the fort, as well as of the greatness of the corsair's power. The Emperor marched into the Goletta through the breach, and turning to Muley-Hascen who attended him, "Here," says he, "is a gate open

Takes it by storm. July 25.

to

to you, by which you ſhall return to take poſ- Book V.
ſeſſion of your dominions." 1535.

Barbarossa, though he felt the full weight of the blow which he had received, did not, however, loſe courage, or abandon the defence of Tunis. But as the walls were of great extent, and extremely weak; as he could not depend on the fidelity of the inhabitants, nor hope that the Moors and Arabs would ſuſtain the hardſhips of a ſiege, he boldly determined to advance with his army, which amounted to fifty thouſand men [t], towards the Imperial camp, and to decide the fate of his kingdom by the iſſue of a battle. This reſolution he communicated to his principal officers, and repreſenting to them the fatal conſequences which might follow, if ten thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves, whom he had ſhut up in the citadel, ſhould attempt to mutiny during the abſence of the army, he propoſed as a neceſſary precaution for the public ſecurity, to maſſacre them without mercy before he began his march. They all approved warmly of his intention to fight; but inured as they were, in their piratical depredations, to ſcenes of bloodſhed and cruelty, the barbarity of his propoſal concerning the ſlaves, filled them with horror; and Barbaroſſa, rather from the dread of irritat-

[t] Epiſtres de Princes, par Ruſcelli, p. 119, &c.

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ing them, than swayed by motives of humanity, consented to spare the lives of the slaves.

Defeats Barbarossa's army.

By this time the Emperor had begun to advance towards Tunis; and though his troops suffered inconceivable hardships in their march over burning sands, destitute of water, and exposed to the intolerable heat of the sun, they soon came up with the enemy. The Moors and Arabs, emboldened by their vast superiority in number, immediately rushed on to the attack with loud shouts, but their undisciplined courage did not stand one moment the shock of regular battalions; and though Barbarossa, with admirable presence of mind, and by exposing his own person to the greatest dangers, endeavoured to rally them, the rout became so general, that he himself was hurried along with them in their flight back to the city. There he found every thing in the utmost confusion; some of the inhabitants flying with their families and effects; others ready to set open their gates to the conqueror; the Turkish soldiers preparing to retreat; and the citadel, which in such circumstances might have afforded him some refuge, already in the possession of the Christian captives. These unhappy men, rendered desperate by their situation, had laid hold on the opportunity which Barbarossa dreaded. As soon as his army was at some distance from the town, they gained two of their

keepers, by whoſe aſſiſtance, knocking off their fetters, and burſting open their priſons, they over-powered the Turkiſh garriſon, and turned the artillery of the fort againſt their former maſters. Barbaroſſa, diſappointed and enraged, exclaiming ſometimes againſt the falſe compaſſion of his officers, and ſometimes condemning his own imprudent compliance with their opinion, fled precipitately to Bona.

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Tunis ſurrenders.

MEANWHILE Charles, ſatisfied with the eaſy and almoſt bloodleſs victory which he had gained, and advancing ſlowly with the precaution neceſſary in an enemy's country, did not yet know the whole extent of his own good fortune. But at laſt, a meſſenger diſpatched by the ſlaves acquainted him with the ſucceſs of their noble effort, for the recovery of their liberty; and at the ſame time deputies arrived from the town, in order to preſent him the keys of their gates, and to implore his protection from military violence. While he was deliberating concerning the proper meaſures for this purpoſe, the ſoldiers, fearing that they ſhould be deprived of the booty which they had expected, broke ſuddenly, and without orders, into the town, and began to kill and plunder without diſtinction. It was then too late to reſtrain their cruelty, their avarice, or licentiouſneſs. All the outrages of which ſoldiers are capable in the fury of

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI

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of a ſtorm, all the exceſſes of which men can be guilty when their paſſions are heightened by the contempt and hatred which difference in manners and religion inſpire, were committed. Above thirty thouſand of the innocent inhabitants periſhed on that unhappy day, and ten thouſand were carried away as ſlaves. Muley-Haſcen took poſſeſſion of a throne ſurrounded with carnage, abhorred by his ſubjects on whom he had brought ſuch calamities, and pitied even by thoſe whoſe raſhneſs had been the occaſion of them. The Emperor lamented the fatal accident which had ſtained the luſtre of his victory; and amidſt ſuch a ſcene of horror there was but one ſpectacle that afforded him any ſatisfaction. Ten thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves, among whom were ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, met him as he entered the town; and falling on their knees, thanked and bleſſed him as their deliverer.

Reſtores the exiled King to his throne.

At the ſame time that Charles accompliſhed his promiſe to the Mooriſh King of re-eſtabliſhing him in his dominions, he did not neglect what was neceſſary for bridling the power of the African corſairs, for the ſecurity of his own ſubjects, and for the intereſt of the Spaniſh crown: In order to gain theſe ends, he concluded a treaty with Muley-Haſcen on the following conditions; that he ſhould hold the kingdom of Tunis in fee of the crown of Spain, and do homage

mage to the Emperor as his liege lord; that all the Chriſtian ſlaves now within his dominions, of whatever nation, ſhould be ſet at liberty without ranſom; that no ſubject of the Emperor's ſhould for the future be detained in ſervitude; that no Turkiſh corſair ſhould be admitted into the ports of his dominions; that free trade, together with the public exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion, ſhould be allowed to all the Emperor's ſubjects; that the Emperor ſhould not only retain the Goletta, but that all the other ſea-ports in the kingdom which were fortified, ſhould be put into his hands; that Muley-Haſcen ſhould pay annually twelve thouſand crowns for the ſubſiſtence of the Spaniſh garriſon in the Goletta; that he ſhould enter into no alliance with any of the Emperor's enemies, and ſhould preſent to him every year, as an acknowledgment of his vaſſalage, ſix Mooriſh horſes, and as many hawks[u]. Having thus ſettled the affairs of Africa; chaſtiſed the inſolence of the corſairs; ſecured a ſafe retreat for the ſhips of his ſubjects, and a proper ſtation for his own fleets, on that coaſt from which he was moſt infeſted by piratical depredations; Charles embarked again for Europe, the tempeſtuous weather, and ſickneſs August 17.

[u] Du Monts Corps Diplomat. ii. 128. Summonte Hiſt. di Napoli, iv. 89.

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among his troops, not permitting him to pursue Barbarossa [x].

The glory which the Emperor acquired.

By this expedition, the merit of which seems to have been estimated in that age, rather by the apparent generosity of the undertaking, the magnificence wherewith it was conducted, and the success which crowned it, than by the importance of the consequences that attended it, the Emperor attained a greater height of glory than at any other period of his reign. Twenty thousand slaves whom he freed from bondage, either by his arms, or by his treaty with Muley-Hascen [y], each of whom he cloathed and furnished with the means of returning to their respective countries, spread all over Europe the fame of their benefactor's munificence, extolling his power and abilities with the exaggeration flowing from gratitude and admiration. In comparison with him, the other Monarchs of Europe made an inconsiderable figure; he, as the chief Prince in Christendom, appeared to be concerned for the honour of the Christian name, for the public security and welfare, while they were attentive only to their private and particular interests.

[x] Joh. Etropii Diarium Expedition. Tunetanæ ap. Scard. v. ii. p. 320, &c. Jovii Histor. lib. xxxiv. 153, &c. Sandov. ii. 154, &c. Vertot Hist. de Cheval. de Malthe. Epistres des Princes, par Ruscelli, traduites par Belleforest, p. 119, 120, &c.

[y] Summonte Hist. de Nap. vol. iv. p. 103.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK VI.

Book VI. 1535. The causes of a new war between the Emperor and Francis.

UNFORTUNATELY for the reputation of Francis I. among his cotemporaries, his conduct, at this juncture, appeared a perfect contrast to that of his rival, as he laid hold on the opportunity afforded him, by the Emperor's having turned his whole force against the common enemy, to revive his pretensions in Italy, and to plunge Europe into a new war. The treaty of Cambray, as has been observed, did not remove the causes of enmity between the two contending Princes; it covered up, but did

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not extinguifh the flames of difcord. Francis, in particular, who waited with impatience for a proper occafion of recovering the reputation as well as territories which he had loft, continued to carry on his negociations in different courts againft the Emperor, taking the utmoft pains to heighten the jealoufy which many Princes entertained of his power or defigns, and to infpire the reft with the fame fufpicion and fear: Among others, he applied to Francis Sforza, who, though indebted to Charles for the poffeffion of the dutchy of Milan, had received it on fuch hard conditions, as rendered him not only a vaffal of the Empire, but a tributary dependant upon the Emperor. The honour of having married the Emperor's niece, did not reconcile him to this ignominious ftate of fubjection, which became fo intolerable even to Sforza, a weak and poor-fpirited Prince, that he liftened with eagernefs to the firft propofals Francis made of refcuing him from the yoke. Thefe propofals were conveyed to him by Maraviglia, or Merveille, as he is called by the French hiftorians, a Milanefe gentleman refiding at Paris; and foon after, in order to carry on the negociation with greater advantage, Merveille was fent to Milan, on pretence of vifiting his relations, but with fecret credentials from Francis as his envoy. In this character he was received by Sforza. But notwithftanding his care to keep that circumftance

ſtance concealed, Charles ſuſpecting, or having received information of it, remonſtrated and threatened in ſuch an high tone, that the Duke and his miniſters, equally intimidated, gave the world immediately a moſt infamous proof of their ſervile fear of offending the Emperor. Having decoyed Merveille, who had neither the prudence nor temper which the ſtation wherein he was placed required, into a quarrel, in which he happened to kill his antagoniſt, one of the Duke's domeſtics, they inſtantly commanded him to be ſeized, to be tried for that crime, and to be beheaded. Francis, no leſs aſtoniſhed at this violation of a character held ſacred among the moſt uncivilized nations, than enraged at the inſult offered to the dignity of his crown, threatened Sforza with the effects of his indignation, and complained to the Emperor, whom he conſidered as the real author of that unexampled outrage. But meeting with no ſatisfaction from either, he appealed to all the Princes of Europe, and thought himſelf now entitled to take vengeance for an injury, which it would have been indecent and puſillanimous to let paſs with impunity.

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Being thus furniſhed with a pretext for beginning a war, on which he had already reſolved, he multiplied his efforts in order to draw in other Princes to take part in the quarrel. But all his meaſures

Francis deſtitute of allies.

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measures for this purpose were disconcerted by unforeseen events. After having sacrificed the honour of his house by the marriage of his son with Catharine of Medici, in order to gain Clement, the death of that Pontiff had deprived him of all the advantages which he expected to derive from his friendship. Paul, his successor, though attached by inclination to the Imperial interest, seemed determined to maintain the neutrality suitable to his character as the common father of the contending Princes. The King of England, occupied with domestic cares and projects, declined, for once, engaging in the affairs of the continent, and refused to assist Francis, unless he would imitate his example, in throwing off the Papal supremacy. These disappointments led him to solicit, with greater earnestness, the aid of the Protestant Princes associated by the league of Smalkalde. That he might the more easily acquire their confidence, he endeavoured to accommodate himself to their predominant passion, zeal for their religious tenets. He affected a wonderful moderation with regard to the points in dispute; he permitted Bellay, his envoy in Germany, to explain his sentiments concerning some of the most important articles, in terms not far different from those used by the Protestants [a]; he even condescended to invite

His negociations with the German Protestants.

[a] Freheri Script. Rer. German. iii. 354, &c. Sleid. Hist. 178, 183. Seckend. lib. iii. 103.

Melancthon,

Melancthon, whose gentle manners and pacific spirit distinguished him among the Reformers, to visit Paris, that by his assistance he might concert the most proper measures for reconciling the contending sects, which so unhappily divided the church [b]. These concessions must be considered rather as arts of policy, than the result of conviction; for whatever impression the new opinions in religion had made on his sisters, the Queen of Navarre and Dutchess of Ferrara, the gaiety of Francis's own temper, and his love of pleasure, allowed him little leisure to examine theological controversies.

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But soon after he lost all the fruits of this disingenuous artifice, by a step very inconsistent with his declarations to the German Princes. This step, however, the prejudices of the age, and the religious sentiments of his own subjects, rendered it necessary for him to take. His close union with the King of England, an excommunicated heretic; his frequent negociations with the German Protestants; but above all, his giving public audience to an envoy from Sultan Solyman, had excited violent suspicions concerning the sincerity of his attachment to religion. To have attacked the Emperor, who, on all occasions, made high pretensions to zeal

Irritates them.

[b] Camerarii Vitâ Ph. Melanchthonis, 12°. Hag. 1655. p. 12.

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in defence of the Catholic faith, and at the very juncture when he was preparing for his expedition against Barbaroſſa, which was then conſidered as a pious enterprize, could not have failed to confirm ſuch unfavourable ſentiments with regard to Francis, and called on him to vindicate himſelf by ſome extraordinary demonſtration of his reverence for the eſtabliſhed doctrines of the church. The indiſcreet zeal of ſome of his ſubjects, who had imbibed the Proteſtant opinions, furniſhed him with ſuch an occaſion as he deſired. They had affixed to the gates of the Louvre, and other public places, papers containing indecent reflections on the doctrines and rites of the Popiſh church. Six of the perſons concerned in this raſh action were diſcovered and ſeized. The King, in order to avert the judgments which it was ſuppoſed their blaſphemies might draw down upon the nation, appointed a ſolemn proceſſion. The holy ſacrament was carried through the city in great pomp; Francis walked uncovered before it, bearing a torch in his hand; the princes of the blood ſupported the canopy over it; the nobles marched in order behind. In the preſence of this numerous aſſembly, the King, accuſtomed to expreſs himſelf on every ſubject in ſtrong and animated language, declared that if one of his hands were infected with hereſy, he would cut it off with the other, and would not ſpare even his own children,

children, if found guilty of that crime. As a dreadful proof of his being in earneſt, the ſix unhappy perſons were publickly burnt before the proceſſion was finiſhed, with circumſtances of the moſt ſhocking barbarity attending their execution [c]. Book VI. 1535.

They refuſe to join him.

The Princes of the league of Smalkalde, filled with reſentment and indignation at the cruelty with which their brethren were treated, could not conceive Francis to be ſincere, when he offered to protect in Germany thoſe very tenets, which he perſecuted with ſuch rigour in his own dominions; ſo that all Bellay's art and eloquence in vindicating his maſter, or apologizing for his conduct, made but little impreſſion upon them. They conſidered likewiſe, that the Emperor, who hitherto had never employed violence againſt the doctrines of the Reformers, nor even given them much moleſtation in their progreſs, was now bound by the agreement at Ratiſbon, not to diſturb ſuch as had embraced the new opinions; and the Proteſtants wiſely conſidered this as a more certain and immediate ſecurity, than the precarious and diſtant hopes with which Francis endeavoured to allure them. Beſides, the manner in which he had behaved to his allies at the peace of Cambray, was too recent to be

[c] Belcarii Comment. Rer. Gallic. 646. Sleid. Hiſt. 175, &c.

forgotten,

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forgotten, and did not encourage others to rely much on his friendſhip or generoſity. Upon all theſe accounts, the Proteſtant Princes refuſed to aſſiſt the French King in any hoſtile attempt againſt the Emperor. The Elector of Saxony, the moſt zealous among them, in order to avoid giving any umbrage to Charles, would not permit Melancthon to viſit the court of France, although that Reformer, flattered perhaps by the invitation of ſo great a Monarch, or hoping that his preſence there might be of ſignal advantage to the Proteſtant cauſe, diſcovered a ſtrong inclination to undertake the journey [d].

The French army advances towards Italy.

But though none of the many Princes who envied or dreaded the power of Charles, would ſecond Francis's efforts in order to reduce and circumſcribe it, he, nevertheleſs, commanded his army to advance towards the frontiers of Italy. As his ſole pretext for taking arms was, that he might chaſtiſe the Duke of Milan for his inſolent and cruel breach of the law of nations, it might have been expected that the whole weight of his vengeance was to have fallen on his territories. But on a ſudden, and at their very commencement, the operations of war took another direction. Charles Duke of Savoy, one of the leaſt active and able Princes of the line

[d] Camerarii Vita Melan. 142, &c. 415. Seckend. lib. iii. 107.

from

from which he defcended, had married Beatrix of Portugal, the Emprefs's fifter. By her great talents, fhe foon acquired an abfolute afcendant over her hufband; and proud of her affinity to the Emperor, or allured by the magnificent promifes with which he flattered her ambition, fhe formed an union between the Duke and the Imperial court, extremely inconfiftent with that neutrality, which wife policy as well as the fituation of his dominions had hitherto induced him to obferve in all the quarrels between the contending Monarchs. Francis was abundantly fenfible of the diftrefs to which he might be expofed, if, when he entered Italy, he fhould leave behind him the territories of a Prince, devoted fo obfequioufly to the Emperor, that he had fent his eldeft fon to be educated in the court of Spain, as a kind of hoftage for his fidelity. Clement the Seventh, who had reprefented this danger in a ftrong light during his interview with Francis at Marfeilles, fuggefted to him, at the fame time, the proper method of guarding againft it, having advifed him to begin his operations againft the Milanefe, by taking poffeffion of Savoy and Piedmont, as the only certain way of fecuring a communication with his own dominions. Francis, highly irritated at the Duke on many accounts, particularly for having fupplied the Conftable Bourbon with the money which enabled him to levy that body of troops

Takes poffeffion of the Duke of Savoy's dominions.

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which ruined the French army in the fatal battle of Pavia, was not unwilling to let him now feel both how deeply he resented, and how severely he could punish these injuries. Nor did he want several pretexts that gave some colour of equity to the violence which he intended. The territories of France and Savoy lying contiguous to each other, and intermingled in many places, various disputes, unavoidable in such a situation, subsisted concerning the limits of their respective property; and besides, Francis had, in right of his mother Louise of Savoy, large claims upon the Duke her brother, for her share in their father's succession. Being unwilling, however, to begin hostilities without some cause of quarrel more specious than these pretensions, many of which were obsolete, and others dubious, he demanded permission to march through Piedmont in his way to the Milanese, hoping that the Duke, from an excess of attachment to the Imperial interest, might refuse this request, and thus give a greater appearance of justice to all his operations against him. But, if we may believe the historians of Savoy, who appear to be better informed with regard to this particular than those of France, the Duke readily, and with a good grace, granted what it was not in his power to deny, promising free passage to the French troops as was desired; so that Francis, as the only method now left of justifying the

measures

measures which he determined to take, was obliged to insist for full satisfaction with regard to every thing that either the crown of France or his mother Louise could demand of the house of Savoy [c]. Such an evasive answer, as might have been expected, being made to this requisition, the French army under the admiral Brion poured at once into the Duke's territories at different places. The countries of Bresse and Bugey, united at that time to Savoy, were overrun in a moment. Most of the towns in the dutchy of Savoy opened their gates at the approach of the enemy; a few which attempted to make resistance were easily forced; and before the end of the campaign, the Duke saw himself stripped of all his dominions, but the province of Piedmont, in which there were not many places in a condition to be defended.

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To compleat the Duke's misfortunes, the city of Geneva, the sovereignty of which he claimed, and in some degree possessed, threw off his yoke, and its revolt drew along with it the loss of the adjacent territories. Geneva was, at that time, an Imperial city; and though under the direct dominion of its own bishops, and the remote sovereignty of the Dukes of Savoy, the form of its internal constitution was purely republican,

The city of Geneva recovers its liberty.

[c] Histoire Genealogique de Savoye, par Guichenon. 2 tom. fol. Lyon. 1660, i. 639, &c.

being

Book VI. being governed by ſyndics and a council choſen
1535. by the citizens. From theſe diſtinct and often claſhing juriſdictions, two oppoſite parties took their riſe, and had long ſubſiſted in the ſtate; the one compoſed of the advocates for the privileges of the community, aſſumed the name of *Eignotz*, or confederates in defence of liberty; and branded the other, which ſupported the epiſcopal or ducal prerogatives, with the name of *Mammelukes* or ſlaves. At length, the Proteſtant opinions beginning to ſpread among the citizens,
1532. inſpired ſuch as embraced them with that bold enterprizing ſpirit which always accompanied or was naturally produced by them in their firſt operations. As both the Duke and Biſhop were from intereſt, from prejudice, and from political conſiderations, violent enemies of the Reformation, all the new converts joined with warmth the party of the Eignotz; and zeal for religion, mingling with the love of liberty, added ſtrength to that generous paſſion. The rage and animoſity of two factions, ſhut up within the ſame walls, occaſioned frequent inſurrections, which terminating moſtly to the advantage of the friends of liberty, they daily gained ground.

The Duke and Biſhop, forgetting their ancient conteſts about juriſdiction, had united againſt their common enemies, and each attacked them with his proper weapons. The Biſhop excom-

excommunicated the people of Genéva as guilty of a double crime; of impiety, in apoſtatiſing from the eſtabliſhed religion; and of ſacrilege, in invading the rights of his ſee. The Duke attacked them as rebels againſt their lawful Prince, and attempted to render himſelf maſter of the city, firſt by ſurprize, and then by open force. The citizens, deſpiſing the thunder of the Biſhop's cenſures, boldly aſſerted their independence againſt the Duke; and partly by their own valour, partly by the powerful aſſiſtance which they received from their allies, the canton of Berne, together with ſome ſmall ſupplies both of men and money, ſecretly furniſhed by the King of France, they defeated all his attempts. Not ſatisfied with having repulſed him, or with remaining always upon the defenſive themſelves, they now took advantage of the Duke's inability to reſiſt them, while overwhelmed by the armies of France, and ſeized ſeveral caſtles and places of ſtrength which he poſſeſſed in the neighbourhood of Geneva; thus delivering the city from theſe odious monuments of its former ſubjection, and rendering the public liberty more ſecure for the future. At the ſame time the canton of Berne invaded and conquered the Paijs de Vaud, to which it had ſome pretenſions. The canton of Friburgh, though zealouſly attached to the Catholic religion, and having no ſubject of conteſt with the Duke, laid hold on part

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part of the ſpoils of that unfortunate Prince. A great portion of theſe conqueſts or uſurpations being ſtill retained by the two cantons, add conſiderably to their power, and have become the moſt valuable part of their territories. Geneva, notwithſtanding many ſchemes and enterprizes of the Dukes of Savoy to re-eſtabliſh their dominion there, ſtill keeps poſſeſſion of its independence; and in conſequence of that bleſſing, has attained a degree of conſideration, wealth and elegance, which it could not otherwiſe have reached [f].

The Emperor unable to aſſiſt the Duke of Savoy.

Amidst ſuch a ſucceſſion of diſaſtrous events, the Duke of Savoy had no other reſource but the Emperor's protection, which, upon his return from Tunis, he demanded with the moſt earneſt importunity; and as his misfortunes were occaſioned chiefly by his attachment to the Imperial intereſt, he had a juſt title to immediate aſſiſtance. Charles, however, was not in a condition to ſupport him with that vigour and diſpatch which the exigency of his affairs called for. Moſt of the troops employed in the African expedition, having been raiſed for that ſervice alone, were diſbanded as ſoon as it was

[f] Hiſt. de la Ville de Geneve, par Spon. 12°. Utr. 1685. p. 99. Hiſt. de la Reformation de Suiſſe, par Rouchat, Gen. 1728. tom. iv. p. 294, &c. tom. v. p. 216, &c. Mem. de Bellay, 181.

finiſhed;

finiſhed; the veteran forces under Antonio de Leyva were hardly ſufficient for the defence of the Milaneſe; and the Emperor's treaſury was entirely drained by his vaſt efforts againſt the Infidels. Book VI. 1535.

But the death of Francis Sforza, occaſioned, according to ſome hiſtorians, by the terror of a French invaſion, which had twice been fatal to his family, afforded the Emperor full leiſure to prepare for action. By this unexpected event, the nature of the war, and the cauſes of diſcord, were totally changed. Francis's firſt pretext for taking arms, in order to chaſtiſe Sforza for the inſult offered to the dignity of his crown, was at once cut off; but as that Prince died without iſſue, all Francis's rights to the dutchy of Milan, which he had yielded only to Sforza and his poſterity, returned back to him in full force. As the recovery of the Milaneſe was the favourite object of that Monarch, he inſtantly renewed his claim to it; and if he had ſupported his pretenſions by ordering the powerful army quartered in Savoy to advance without loſing a moment towards Milan, he could ſcarcely have failed to ſecure the important point of poſſeſſion. But Francis, who became daily leſs enterprizing as he advanced in years, and who was overawed at ſome times into an exceſs of caution by the remembrance of his paſt misfortunes, endea- Oct. 24. Death of Sforza Duke of Milan.

 voured

BOOK VI. 1535. Francis's pretenfions to that dutchy.

voured to eftablifh his rights by negociation, not by arms; and from a timid moderation, fatal in all great affairs, neglected to improve the favourable opportunity which prefented itfelf. Charles, meanwhile, in quality of fovereign, took poffeffion of the dutchy, as a vacant fief of the Empire; and while Francis endeavoured to explain and affert his title to it, by arguments and memorials, and employed every art in order to reconcile the Italian powers to the thoughts of his regaining footing in Italy, his rival was filently taking effectual fteps to prevent it. The Emperor, however, was very careful not to difcover too early any intention of this kind; but feeming to admit the equity of Francis's claim, he appeared folicitous only about giving him poffeffion in fuch a manner as might not difturb the peace of Europe, or overturn the balance of power in Italy, which the politicians of that country were fo fond of preferving. By this artifice he deceived Francis, and gained fo much confidence with the reft of Europe, that almoft without incurring any fufpicion, he involved the affair in new difficulties, and protracted the negociations at pleafure. Sometimes he propofed to grant the inveftiture of Milan to the Duke of Orleans, Francis's fecond fon, fometimes to the Duke of Angouleme, his third fon; as the views and inclinations of the French court varied, he transferred his

choice

choice alternately from the one to the other, with ſuch profound and well conducted diſſimulation, that neither Francis nor his miniſters ſeem to have penetrated his real intention; and all military operations were entirely ſuſpended, as if nothing had remained but to enter quietly into poſſeſſion of what they demanded.

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During the interval gained in this manner, Charles prevailed on the ſtates both of Sicily and Naples, who thought themſelves greatly honoured by the preſence of their ſovereign on his return from Tunis, and who were no leſs pleaſed with the apparent diſintereſtedneſs of his expedition into Africa, than dazzled by the ſucceſs which had attended his arms, to vote him ſuch liberal ſubſidies as were ſeldom granted in that age. This enabled him to recruit his veteran troops, to levy a body of Germans, and to take every other proper precaution for executing or ſupporting the meaſures on which he had determined. Bellay, the French envoy in Germany, having diſcovered the intention of raiſing troops in that country, notwithſtanding all the pretexts employed in order to conceal it, firſt alarmed his maſter with this evident proof of the Emperor's inſincerity [g]. But Francis was ſo poſſeſſed at that time with the rage of negociation, in all the

1536. Charles's preparations for war.

[g] Mem. de Bellay, 192.

Book VI. 1536. artifices and refinements of which his rival far ſurpaſſed him, that inſtead of beginning his military operations, and puſhing them with vigour, or ſeizing the Milaneſe before the Imperial army was aſſembled, he ſatisfied himſelf with making new offers to the Emperor, in order to procure the inveſtiture by his voluntary deed. His offers were, indeed, ſo liberal and advantageous, that if ever Charles had intended to grant his demand, he could not have rejected them with decency. He dexterouſly eluded them by declaring that, until he conſulted the Pope in perſon, he could not take his final reſolution with regard to a point which ſo nearly concerned the peace of Italy. By this evaſion he gained ſome farther time for ripening the ſchemes which he had in view.

The Emperor enters Rome. April 6.

The Emperor at laſt advanced towards Rome, and made his public entry into that city with extraordinary pomp; but it being found neceſſary to remove the ruins of an ancient temple of peace, in order to widen one of the ſtreets, through which the cavalcade had to paſs, all the hiſtorians take notice of this trivial circumſtance, which they are fond to interpret as an omen of the bloody war that followed. Charles, it is certain, had by this time baniſhed all thoughts of peace; and at laſt threw off the maſk, with which he had ſo long covered his deſigns from

the court of France, by a declaration of his ſentiments no leſs ſingular than explicit. The French ambaſſadors having in their maſter's name demanded a definitive reply to his propoſitions concerning the inveſtiture of Milan, Charles promiſed to give it next day in preſence of the Pope and Cardinals aſſembled in full conſiſtory. Theſe being accordingly met, and all the foreign ambaſſadors invited to attend, the Emperor ſtood up, and addreſſing himſelf to the Pope, expatiated for ſome time on the ſincerity of his own wiſhes for the peace of Chriſtendom, as well as his abhorrence of war, the miſeries of which he enumerated at great length, with ſtudied and elaborate oratory; he complained that all his endeavours to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe had hitherto been defeated by the reſtleſs and unjuſt ambition of the French King; that even during his minority he had proofs of the unfriendly and hoſtile intentions of that Monarch; that afterwards, he had openly attempted to wreſt from him the Imperial crown which belonged to him by a title no leſs juſt than natural; that he had next invaded his kingdom of Navarre; that not ſatisfied with this, he had attacked his territories as well as thoſe of his allies both in Italy and the Low-Countries; that when the valour of the Imperial troops, rendered irreſiſtible by the protection of the Almighty, had checked his progreſs, ruined his armies, and

His public invective againſt Francis.

Book VI. 1536. seized his person, he continued to pursue by deceit what he had undertaken with injustice; that he had violated every article in the treaty of Madrid to which he owed his liberty, and as soon as he returned to his dominions took measures for rekindling the war which that pacification had happily extinguished; that when new misfortunes compelled him to sue again for peace at Cambray, he concluded and observed it with great insincerity; that soon thereafter he had formed dangerous connections with the heretical Princes in Germany, and incited them to disturb the tranquillity of the Empire; that now he had driven the Duke of Savoy, his brother-in-law and ally, out of the greater part of his territories; that after injuries so often repeated, and amidst so many sources of discord, all hope of amity or concord became desperate; and though he was still willing to grant the investiture of Milan to one of the Princes of France, there was little probability of that event's taking place, as Francis, on the one hand, would not consent to what he judged necessary for securing the tranquillity of Europe, nor, on the other, could he think it reasonable or safe to give him the unconditional possession of all that he demanded. Let us not, however, added he, continue wantonly to shed the blood of our innocent subjects; let us decide the quarrel man to man, with what arms he pleases to chuse, in our shirts, on an island,

Challenges him to single combat.

island, a bridge, or aboard a galley moored in a river; let the dutchy of Burgundy be put in deposit on his part, and that of Milan on mine; these shall be the prize of the conqueror; and after that, let the united forces of Germany, Spain and France, be employed to humble the power of the Turk, and to extirpate heresy out Christendom. But if he, by declining this method of terminating our differences, renders war inevitable, nothing shall divert me from prosecuting it to such extremity, as shall reduce one of us to be the poorest gentleman in his own dominions. Nor do I fear that it will be on me this misfortune shall fall; I enter upon action with the fairest prospect of success; the justice of my cause, the union of my subjects, the number and valour of my troops, the experience and fidelity of my generals, all combine to ensure it. Of all these advantages, the King of France is destitute; and were my resources no more certain, and my hopes of victory no better founded than his, I would instantly throw myself at his feet, and with folded hands, and a rope about my neck, implore his mercy [h].

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This long harangue the Emperor delivered with an elevated voice, a haughty tone, and the greatest vehemence of expression and gesture. The French ambassadors, who did not fully

[h] Bellay, 199. Sandov. Histor. del Emper. II. 226.

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comprehend his meaning, as he ſpake in the Spaniſh tongue, were totally diſconcerted, and at a loſs how they ſhould anſwer ſuch an unexpected invective; when one of them began to vindicate his maſter's conduct, Charles interpoſed abruptly, and would not permit him to proceed. The Pope, without entering into any particular detail, ſatisfied himſelf with a ſhort but pathetic recommendation of peace, together with an offer of employing his ſincere endeavours in order to procure that bleſſing to Chriſtendom; and the aſſembly broke up in the greateſt aſtoniſhment at the extraordinary ſcene which had been exhibited. In no part of his conduct, indeed, did Charles ever deviate ſo widely from his general character. Inſtead of that prudent recollection, that compoſed and regular deportment ſo ſtrictly attentive to decorum, and ſo admirably adapted to conceal his own paſſions, for which he was at all other times conſpicuous, he appears on this occaſion before the moſt auguſt aſſembly in Europe, boaſting of his own power and exploits with inſolence; inveighing againſt his enemy with indecency; and challenging him to combat with an oſtentatious valour, more becoming a champion in romance, than the firſt Monarch in Chriſtendom. But the well known and powerful operation of continued proſperity, as well as of exaggerated praiſe, even upon the firmeſt minds,

The motives of this raſh meaſure.

ſufficiently

ſufficiently account for this ſeeming inconſiſtency. After having compelled Solyman to retreat, and having ſtripped Barbaroſſa of a kingdom, Charles began to conſider his arms as invincible. He had been entertained, ever ſince his return from Africa, with repeated ſcenes of triumphs and public rejoicings; the orators and poets of Italy, the moſt elegant at that time in Europe, had exhauſted their genius in panegyric, to which the aſtrologers added magnificent promiſes of a more ſplendid fortune ſtill in ſtore. Intoxicated with all theſe, he forgot his uſual reſerve and moderation, and was unable to reſtrain this extravagant ſally of vanity, which became the more remarkable, by being both ſo uncommon and ſo public. Book VI. 1536.

He himſelf ſeems to have been immediately ſenſible of the impropriety of his behaviour, and when the French ambaſſadors demanded next day a more clear explanation of what he had ſaid concerning the combat, he told them, that they were not to conſider his propoſal as a formal challenge to their maſter, but as an expedient for preventing bloodſhed; he endeavoured to ſoften other expreſſions in his diſcourſe; and ſpoke in terms full of reſpect towards Francis. But though this ſlight apology was far from being ſufficient to remove the offence which had been given, Francis, by an unaccountable infatuation,

BOOK VI. 1536. fatuation, continued to negociate, as if it had ſtill been poſſible to bring their differences to a period by an amicable compoſition. Charles, finding him ſo eager to run into the ſnare, favoured the deception, and by ſeeming to liſten to his propoſals gained time to prepare for the execution of his own deſigns [i].

Charles invades France.

At laſt, the Imperial army aſſembled on the frontiers of the Milaneſe, to the amount of forty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, while that of France encamped near Vercelli in Piedmont, being greatly inferior in number, and weakened by the departure of a body of Swiſs, whom Charles artfully perſuaded the Popiſh cantons to recal, that they might not ſerve againſt the Duke of Savoy, their ancient ally. The French general, not daring to riſque a battle, retired as ſoon as the Imperialiſts advanced. May 6. The Emperor put himſelf at the head of his forces, which the Marquis del Guaſto, the Duke of Alva, and Ferdinand de Gonzaga commanded under him, though the ſupreme direction of the whole was committed to Antonio de Leyva, whoſe abilities and experience juſtly entitled him to that diſtinction. Charles ſoon diſcovered his intention not to confine his operations to the recovery of Piedmont and Savoy,

[i] Mem. de Bellay, 205, &c.

but to push forward and invade the southern provinces of France. This scheme he had long meditated, and had long been taking measures for executing it with such vigour as might ensure success. He had remitted large sums to his sister, the governess of the Low-Countries, and to his brother, the King of the Romans, instructing them to levy all the forces in their power, in order to form two separate bodies, the one to enter France on the side of Picardy, the other on the side of Champagne; while he, with the main army, fell upon the opposite frontier of the kingdom. Trusting to these vast preparations, he thought it impossible that Francis could resist so many unexpected attacks, on such different quarters; and begun his enterprize with such confidence of its happy issue, that he desired Jovius the historian, to make a large provision of paper sufficient to record the victories which he was going to acquire.

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His ministers and generals, instead of entertaining the same sanguine hopes, represented to him in the strongest terms the danger of leading his troops so far from his own territories, to such a distance from his magazines, and into provinces which did not yield sufficient subsistence for their own inhabitants. They intreated him to consider the inexhaustible resources of France in maintaining a defensive war, and the active

zeal

Book VI. 1536. zeal with which a gallant nobility would serve a Prince whom they loved, in repelling the enemies of their country; they recalled to his remembrance the fatal miscarriage of Bourbon and Pescara, when they ventured upon the same enterprize under circumstances which seemed as certainly to promise success; the Marquis del Guasto in particular, fell on his knees, and conjured him to abandon the undertaking as desperate. But many circumstances combined in leading Charles to disregard all their remonstrances. He could seldom be brought, on any occasion, to depart from a resolution which he had once taken; he was too apt to under-rate and despise the talents of his rival the King of France, which differed so widely from his own; he was blinded by the presumption which accompanies prosperity; and relied, perhaps, in some degree on the prophecies which predicted the increase of his own grandeur. He not only adhered obstinately to his own plan, but determined to advance towards France without waiting for the reduction of any part of Piedmont, except such towns as were absolutely necessary for preserving his communication with the Milanese.

Recovers part of the Duke of Savoy's dominions.

The Marquis de Saluces, to whom Francis had entrusted the command of a small body of troops left for the defence of Piedmont, rendered this

this more eaſy than Charles had any reaſon to expect. That nobleman, educated in the court of France, diſtinguiſhed by continual marks of the King's favour, and honoured ſo lately with a charge of ſuch importance, ſuddenly, and without any provocation or pretext of diſguſt, revolted from his benefactor. His motives to this treacherous action, were as childiſh as the deed itſelf was baſe. Being ſtrongly poſſeſſed with a ſuperſtitious faith in divination and aſtrology, he believed with full aſſurance, that the fatal period of the French nation was at hand; that on its ruins the Emperor would eſtabliſh an univerſal monarchy; that therefore he ought to follow the dictates of prudence, in attaching himſelf to his riſing fortune, and could incur no blame for deſerting a Prince whom heaven had devoted to deſtruction[k]. His treaſon became ſtill more odious, by his employing that very authority with which Francis had inveſted him, in order to open the kingdom to his enemies. Whatever was propoſed or undertaken by the officers under his command for the defence of their conqueſts, he rejected or defeated. Whatever properly belonged to himſelf as commander in chief, to provide or perform for that purpoſe, he totally neglected. In this manner, he rendered towns even of the greateſt conſequence

[k] Bellay, 222, a. 246, b.

untenable,

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untenable, by leaving them deſtitute either of proviſions, or ammunition, or artillery, or a ſufficient garriſon; and the Imperialiſts muſt have reduced Piedmont in as ſhort a time as was neceſſary to march through it, if Montpezat, the governor of Foſſano, had not, by an extraordinary effort of courage and military conduct, detained them, almoſt a month, before that inconſiderable place.

Francis's plan for the defence of his kingdom.

By this meritorious and ſeaſonable ſervice, he gained his maſter ſufficient time for aſſembling his forces, and for concerting a ſyſtem of defence againſt a danger which he now ſaw to be inevitable. Francis fixed upon the only proper and effectual plan for defeating the invaſion of a powerful enemy; and his prudence in chuſing this plan, as well as his perſeverance in executing it, deſerve the greater praiſe, as it was equally contrary to his own natural temper, and to the genius of the French nation. He determined to remain altogether upon the defenſive; never to hazard a battle, or even a great ſkirmiſh, without certainty of ſucceſs; to fortify his camps in a regular manner; to throw garriſons only into towns of great ſtrength; to deprive the enemy of ſubſiſtence, by laying waſte the country before them; and to ſave the whole kingdom, by ſacrificing one of its provinces. The execution of this plan he committed entirely

tirely to the marechal Montmorency, who was the author of it; a man wonderfully fitted by nature for ſuch a truſt. Haughty, ſevere, confident in his own abilities, and deſpiſing thoſe of other men; incapable of being diverted from any reſolution by remonſtrances or intreaties; and in proſecuting any ſcheme, regardleſs alike of love and of pity.

Book VI. 1536. Entruſts Montmorency with the execution of it.

Montmorency made choice of a ſtrong camp under the walls of Avignon, at the confluence of the Rhoſne and Durance, one of which plentifully ſupplied his troops with all neceſſaries from the inland provinces, and the other covered his camp on that ſide, where it was moſt probable the enemy would approach. He laboured with unwearied induſtry to render the fortifications of this camp impregnable, and aſſembled there a conſiderable army, though greatly inferior to that of the enemy; while the King with another body of troops encamped at Valence, higher up the Rhoſne. Marſeilles and Arles were the only towns he thought it neceſſary to defend; the former, in order to retain the command of the ſea; the latter, as the barrier of the province of Languedoc; and each of theſe he furniſhed with numerous garriſons of his beſt troops, commanded by officers, on whoſe fidelity and valour he could rely. The inhabitants of the other towns as well as of the open

He encamps at Avignon.

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open country, were compelled to abandon their houſes, and were conducted to the mountains, to the camp at Avignon, or to the inland provinces. The fortifications of ſuch places as might have afforded ſhelter or defence to the enemy, were thrown down. Corn, forage and proviſions of every kind, were carried away or deſtroyed; all the mills and ovens were ruined, and the wells filled up or rendered uſeleſs. The devaſtation extended from the Alps to Marſeilles, and from the ſea to the confines of Dauphiné; nor does hiſtory afford any inſtance among civilized nations, in which this cruel expedient for the public ſafety was employed with the ſame rigour.

Charles enters Provence.

Meanwhile, the Emperor arrived with the van of his army on the frontiers of Provence, and was ſtill ſo poſſeſſed with confidence of ſucceſs, that during a few days, when he was obliged to halt until the reſt of his troops came up, he began to divide his future conqueſts among his officers; and as a new incitement to ſerve him with zeal, gave them liberal promiſes of offices, lands and honours in France[1]. The face of deſolation, however, which preſented itſelf to him, when he entered the country, began to damp his hopes; and convinced him that

[1] Bellay, 266, a.

a Mo-

a Monarch, who, in order to diftrefs an enemy, had voluntarily ruined one of his richeft provinces, would defend the reft with obftinate defpair. Nor was it long before he became fenfible, that Francis's plan of defence was as prudent as it appeared to be extraordinary. His fleet, on which Charles chiefly depended for fubfiftence, was prevented for fome time by contrary winds, and other accidents to which naval operations are fubject, from approaching the French coaft; even after its arrival, it afforded at beft a precarious and fcanty fupply to fuch a numerous body of troops [m]; nothing was to be found in the country itfelf for their fupport; nor could they draw any confiderable aid from the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, exhaufted already by maintaining two great armies. The Emperor was no lefs embarraffed how to employ, than how to fubfift his forces; for, though he was now in poffeffion of almoft an entire province, he could not be faid to have the command of it, while he held only defencelefs towns; and while the French, befides their camp at Avignon, continued mafters of Marfeilles and Arles. At firft he thought of attacking the camp, and of terminating the war by one decifive blow; but fkilful officers, who were appointed to view it, declared the attempt to be utterly impracticable.

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[m] Sandov. ii. 231.

Book VI. 1536. Besieges Marseilles.

He then commanded Marseilles and Arles to be invested, hoping that the French would quit their advantageous post in order to relieve them; but Montmorency adhering firmly to his plan, remained immoveable at Avignon, and the Imperialists met with such a warm reception from the garrisons of both towns, that they relinquished their enterprizes with loss and disgrace. As a last effort, the Emperor advanced once more towards Avignon, though with an army harassed by the perpetual incursions of small parties of the French light troops, weakened by diseases, and dispirited by disasters, which seemed more intolerable, because they were unexpected.

Montmorency's fortitude in adhering to his plan of defence.

During these operations Montmorency found himself exposed to greater danger from his own troops than from the enemy; and their inconsiderate valour went near to have precipitated the kingdom into those calamities, which he with such industry and caution had endeavoured to avoid. Unaccustomed to behold an enemy ravaging their country almost without controul; impatient of such long inaction; unacquainted with the slow and remote, but certain effects of Montmorency's system of defence; the French wished for a battle with no less ardour than the Imperialists. They considered the conduct of their general as a disgrace to their country. His caution they imputed to timidity; his circum-

spection

ſpection to want of ſpirit; and the conſtancy with which he purſued his plan, to obſtinacy or pride. Theſe reflections, whiſpered, at firſt, among the ſoldiers and ſubalterns, were adopted, by degrees, by officers of higher rank; and as many of theſe envied Montmorency's favour with the King, and more were diſſatisfied with his harſh diſguſting manner, the diſcontent ſoon became great in his camp, which was filled with general murmurings and almoſt open complaints againſt his meaſures. Montmorency, on whom the ſentiments of his own troops made as little impreſſion as the inſults of the enemy, adhered ſteadily to his ſyſtem; though, in order to reconcile the army to his maxims, no leſs contrary to the genius of the nation, than to the ideas of war among undiſciplined troops, he aſſumed an unuſual affability in his deportment, and often explained with great condeſcenſion the motives of his conduct, the advantages which had already reſulted from it, and the certain ſucceſs with which it would be attended. At laſt Francis joined his army at Avignon, which having received ſeveral reinforcements, he now conſidered as of ſtrength ſufficient to face the enemy. As he had put upon himſelf no ſmall conſtraint, in having conſented that his troops ſhould remain ſo long upon the defenſive, it can hardly be doubted but that his fondneſs for what was daring and ſplendid, added to the impatience both

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of officers and soldiers, would at last have over-ruled Montmorency's salutary caution [n].

The retreat and wretched condition of the Imperial army.

HAPPILY the retreat of the enemy delivered the kingdom from the danger which any rash resolution might have occasioned. The Emperor, after spending two inglorious months in Provence, without having performed any thing suitable to his vast preparations, or that could justify the confidence with which he had boasted of his own power, found that, besides Antonio de Leyva, and other officers of distinction, he had lost one half of his troops by diseases, or by famine; and that the rest were in no condition to struggle any longer with calamities, by which so many of their companions had perished. Necessity, therefore, extorted from him orders to retire; and though he was some time in motion before the French suspected his intention, a body of light troops, assisted by crowds of peasants, eager to be revenged on those who had brought such desolation on their country, hung upon the rear of the Imperialists, and by seizing every favourable opportunity of attacking them, threw them often into confusion. The road by which they fled, for they pursued their march with such disorder and precipitation, that it scarcely deserves the name of a retreat, was strewed with arms or baggage, which in their

[n] Mem. de Bellay, 269, &c. 312, &c.

hurry

hurry and trepidation they had abandoned, and covered with the ſick, the wounded, and the dead; inſomuch that Martin Bellay, an eye-witneſs of their calamities, endeavours to give his readers ſome idea of it, by comparing their miſeries to thoſe which the Jews ſuffered from the victorious and deſtructive arms of the Romans [o]. If Montmorency at this critical moment had advanced with all his forces, nothing could have ſaved the whole Imperial army from utter ruin. But that general, by ſtanding ſo long and ſo obſtinately on the defenſive, had become cautious to exceſs; his mind, tenacious of any bent it had once taken, could not aſſume a contrary one as ſuddenly as the change of circumſtances required; and he ſtill continued to repeat his favourite maxims, that it was more prudent to allow the lion to eſcape, than to drive him to deſpair, and that a bridge of gold ſhould be made for a retreating enemy.

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The Emperor having conducted the ſhattered remains of his troops to the frontiers of Milan, and appointed the marquis del Guaſto to ſucceed Leyva in the government of the dutchy, ſet out for Genoa. As he could not bear to expoſe himſelf to the ſcorn of the Italians, after ſuch a ſad reverſe of fortune; and did not chuſe,

[o] Mem. de Bellay, 3:6. Sandov. Hiſt. del Emper. ii. 232.

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under his present circumstances, to revisit those cities through which he had so lately passed in triumph for one conquest, and in certain expectation of another; he embarked directly for Spain [p].

November.

Operations in Picardy.

Nor was the progress of his arms on the opposite frontier of France such as to alleviate in any degree the losses which he had sustained in Provence. Bellay by his address and intrigues had prevailed on so many of the German Princes to withdraw the contingent of troops which they had furnished to the King of the Romans, that he was obliged to lay aside all thoughts of his intended irruption into Champagne. Though a powerful army levied in the Low-Countries entered Picardy, which they found but feebly guarded, while the strength of the kingdom was drawn towards the south; yet the nobility taking arms with their usual alacrity, supplied by their spirit the defects of the King's preparations, and defended Peronne, and other towns which were attacked, with such vigour, as obliged the enemy to retire without making any conquest of importance [q].

Thus Francis, by the prudence of his own measures, and by the union and valour of his

[p] Jovii Histor. lib. xxxv. p. 174, &c.
[q] Mem. de Bellay, 318, &c.

subjects,

ſubjects, rendered abortive thoſe vaſt efforts in which his rival had almoſt exhauſted his whole force. As this humbled the Emperor's arrogance no leſs than it checked his power, he was mortified more ſenſibly on this occaſion than on any other, during the courſe of the long conteſts between him and the French Monarch.

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One circumſtance alone embittered the joy with which the ſucceſs of the campaign inſpired Francis. That was the death of the Dauphin, his eldeſt ſon, a Prince of great hopes, and extremely beloved by the people on account of his reſemblance to his father. This happening ſuddenly, was imputed to poiſon, not only by the vulgar, fond of aſcribing the death of illuſtrious perſonages to extraordinary cauſes, but by the King and his miniſters. The count de Montecuculi, an Italian nobleman, cup-bearer to the Dauphin, being ſeized on ſuſpicion and put to the torture, openly charged the Imperial generals, Gonzaga and Leyva, with having inſtigated him to the commiſſion of that crime; he even threw out ſome indirect and obſcure accuſations againſt the Emperor himſelf. At a time when all France was animated with implacable hatred againſt Charles, this uncertain and extorted charge was conſidered as an inconteſtible proof of guilt; while the confidence with which both he and his officers aſſerted their own innocence,

Death of the Dauphin.

Imputed to poiſon.

 together

Book VI. 1536. together with the indignation as well as horror which they expressed on their being supposed capable of such a detestable action, were little attended to, and less regarded [r]. It is evident, however, that the Emperor could have no inducement to perpetrate such a crime, as Francis was still in the vigour of life himself, and had two sons, besides the Dauphin, grown up to a good age. That single consideration, without mentioning the Emperor's general character, unblemished by the imputation of any deed resembling this in atrocity, is more than sufficient to counterbalance the weight of a dubious testimony uttered during the anguish of torture [s]. According to the most unprejudiced historians, the Dauphin's death was occasioned by his having drunk too freely of cold water after overheating himself at tennis; and this account, as it is the most simple, is likewise the most credible. But if his days were cut short by poison, it is not improbable that the Emperor conjectured rightly, when he affirmed that it had been administered by the direction of Catharine of Medici, in order to secure the crown to the Duke of Orleans, her husband [t]. The advantages resulting to her by the Dauphin's death, were obvious as well as great; nor did her

[r] Mem. de Bellay, 289.

[s] Sandov. Hist. del Emper. ii. 231.

[t] Vera y Zuniga Vida de Carlo V. p. 75.

boundless

boundleſs and daring ambition ever ſcruple at any action neceſſary towards attaining the objects which ſhe had view.

1537. Decree of the parliament of Paris againſt the Emperor.

Next year opened with a tranſaction very uncommon, but ſo incapable of producing any effect, that it would not deſerve to be mentioned, if it were not a ſtriking proof of that perſonal animoſity which mingled itſelf in all the hoſtilities between Charles and Francis, and which often betrayed them into ſuch indecencies towards each other, as leſſened the dignity of both. Francis, accompanied by the peers and princes of the blood, having taken his ſeat in the parliament of Paris with the uſual ſolemnities, the advocate-general appeared; and after accuſing Charles of Auſtria, (for ſo he affected to call the Emperor) of having violated the treaty of Cambray, by which he was abſolved from the homage due to the crown of France for the counties of Artois and Flanders; inſiſted that this treaty being now void, he was ſtill to be conſidered as a vaſſal of the crown, and, by conſequence, had been guilty of rebellion in taking arms againſt his ſovereign; and therefore he demanded that Charles ſhould be ſummoned to appear in perſon, or by his counſel, before the parliament of Paris, his legal judges, to anſwer for his crime. The requeſt was granted; a herald repaired to the frontiers of Picardy, and ſummoned

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summoned him, with the accustomed formalities, to appear against a day prefixed. That term being expired, and no person appearing in his name, the parliament gave judgment, "That Charles of Austria had forfeited by rebellion and contumacy these fiefs; declared Flanders and Artois to be re-united to the crown of France; and ordered their decree for this purpose to be published by sound of trumpet on the frontiers of these provinces[u]."

Campaign opens in the Low-Countries. March.

Soon after this vain display of his resentment, rather than of his power, Francis marched towards the Low-Countries, as if he had intended to execute the sentence which his parliament had pronounced, and to seize those territories which it had awarded to him. As the Queen of Hungary, to whom her brother the Emperor had committed the government of that part of his dominions, was not prepared for so early a campaign, he at first made some progress, and took several towns of importance. But being obliged soon to leave his army, in order to superintend the other operations of war, the Flemings having assembled a numerous army, not only recovered most of the places which they had lost, but began to make conquests in their turn. At

[u] Lettres et Memoires d'Etat, par Ribier, 2 tom. Blois. 1666. tom. i. p. 1.

laſt they inveſted Terouenne, and the Duke of Orleans, now Dauphin, by the death of his brother, and Montmorency, whom Francis had honoured with the conſtable's ſword, as the reward of his great ſervices during the former campaign, determined to hazard a battle in order to relieve it. While they were advancing for this purpoſe, and within a few miles of the enemy, they were ſtopt ſhort by the arrival of an herald from the Queen of Hungary, acquainting him that a ſuſpenſion of arms was now agreed upon.

A ſuſpenſion of arms there;

This unexpected event was owing to the zealous endeavours of the two ſiſters, the Queens of France and of Hungary, who had long laboured to reconcile the contending Monarchs. The war in the Netherlands had laid waſte the frontier provinces of both countries, without any real advantage to either. The French and Flemings equally regretted the interruption of their commerce, which was beneficial to both. Charles as well as Francis, who had each ſtrained to the utmoſt, in order to ſupport the vaſt operations of the former campaign, found that they could not now keep armies on foot in this quarter, without weakening their operations in Piedmont, where both wiſhed to puſh the war with the greateſt vigour. All theſe circumſtances facilitated the negociations of the two Queens; a truce

July 30.

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truce was concluded, to continue in force for ten months, but it extended no farther than the Low-Countries[x].

And in Piedmont.

In Piedmont the war was ſtill proſecuted with great animoſity; and though neither Charles nor Francis could make the powerful efforts to which this animoſity prompted them, they continued to exert themſelves like combatants, whoſe rancour remains after their ſtrength is exhauſted. Towns were alternately loſt and retaken; ſkirmiſhes were fought every day; and much blood was ſhed, without any deciſive action, that gave the ſuperiority to either ſide. At laſt the two Queens, determining not to leave unfiniſhed the good work which they had begun, prevailed, by their importunate ſolicitations, the one on her brother, the other on her huſband, to conſent alſo to a truce in Piedmont for three months. The conditions of it were, that each ſhould keep poſſeſſion of what was in his hands, and after leaving garriſons in the towns, ſhould withdraw his army out of the province; and that plenipotentiaries ſhould be appointed to adjuſt all matters in diſpute by a final treaty[y].

Motives of it.

The powerful motives which inclined both Princes to this accommodation, have been often mentioned. The expences of the war had far

[x] Memoires de Ribier, 56. [y] Ibid. 62.

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exceeded the sums which their revenues were capable of supplying, nor durst they venture upon any great addition to the impositions then established, as subjects were not yet taught to bear with patience the immense burdens to which they have become accustomed in modern times. The Emperor, in particular, though he had contracted debts which in that age appeared prodigious [z], had it not in his power to pay the large arrears which had been long due to his army. At the same time he had no prospect of deriving any aid in money or men either from the Pope or Venetians, though he had employed promises and threats, alternately, in order to procure it. But he found the former not only fixed in his resolution of adhering steadily to the neutrality which he had always declared to be suitable to his character, but passionately desirous of bringing about a peace. He perceived that the latter were still intent on their ancient object of holding the balance even between the rivals, and solicitous not to throw too great a weight into either scale.

Of which, Francis's alliance with the Turkish Emperor the most considerable.

What made a deeper impression on Charles than all these, was the dread of the Turkish arms, which Francis had drawn upon him by his league with Solyman. Though Francis,

[z] Ribier, i. 294.

without

Book VI. 1537. without the aſſiſtance of a ſingle ally, had a war to maintain againſt an enemy greatly ſuperior in power to himſelf, yet ſo great was the horror of Chriſtians, in that age, at any union with Infidels, which they conſidered not only as diſhonourable but profane, that it was long before he could be brought to avail himſelf of the obvious advantages reſulting from ſuch a confederacy. Neceſſity at laſt ſurmounted his delicacy and ſcruples. Towards the cloſe of the preceding year, La Foreſt, a ſecret agent at the Ottoman porte, had concluded a treaty with the Sultan, whereby Solyman engaged to invade the kingdom of Naples, during the next campaign, and to attack the King of the Romans in Hungary with a powerful army, while Francis undertook to enter the Milaneſe at the ſame time with a proper force. Solyman had punctually performed what was incumbent on him. Barbaroſſa with a great fleet appeared on the coaſt of Naples, filled that kingdom, from which all the troops had been drawn towards Piedmont, with conſternation, landed without reſiſtance near Taranto, obliged Caſtro, a place of ſome ſtrength, to ſurrender, plundered the adjacent country, and was taking meaſures for ſecuring and extending his conqueſts, when the unexpected arrival of Doria, together with the Pope's gallies, and a ſquadron of the Venetian fleet, made it prudent for him to retire. In Hungary the

the progreſs of the Turks was more formidable. Mahmet, their general, after gaining ſeveral ſmall advantages, defeated the Germans in a great battle at Eſſek on the Drave [a]. Happily for Chriſtendom, it was not in Francis's power to execute with equal exactneſs what he had ſtipulated; nor could he aſſemble at this juncture an army ſtrong enough to penetrate into the Milaneſe. By this he failed in recovering poſſeſſion of that dutchy; and Italy was not only ſaved from the calamities of a new war, but from feeling, as an addition to all that it had ſuffered, the deſolating rage of the Turkiſh arms [b]. As the Emperor knew that he could not long reſiſt the efforts of two ſuch powerful confederates, nor could expect that the ſame fortunate accidents would concur a ſecond time to deliver Naples, and to preſerve the Milaneſe: As he foreſaw that the Italian ſtates would not only tax him loudly with inſatiable ambition, but might even turn their arms againſt him, if he ſhould be ſo regardleſs of their danger as obſtinately to protract the war, he thought it neceſſary, both for his ſafety and reputation, to give his conſent to a truce. Nor was Francis willing to ſuſtain all the blame of obſtructing the reeſtabliſhment of peace, or to expoſe himſelf on

[a] Iſtuanhaffi Hiſt. Hung. lib. xiii. p. 139.

[b] Jovii Hiſtor. lib. xxxv. p. 183.

that

BOOK VI. 1537. that account to the danger of being deſerted by the Swiſs and other foreigners in his ſervice. He even began to apprehend that his own ſubjects would ſerve him coldly, if by contributing to aggrandize the power of the Infidels, which it was his duty, and had been the ambition of his anceſtors to depreſs, he continued to act in direct oppoſition to all the principles which ought to influence a Monarch diſtinguiſhed by the title of Moſt Chriſtian King. He choſe, for all theſe reaſons, rather to run the riſque of diſobliging his new ally the Sultan, than, by an unſeaſonable adherence to the treaty with him, to forfeit what was of greater conſequence.

Negociations of a peace between Charles and Francis.

BUT though both parties conſented to a truce, the plenipotentiaries found inſuperable difficulties in ſettling the articles of a definitive treaty. Each of the Monarchs, with the arrogance of a conqueror, aimed at giving law to the other; and neither would ſo far acknowledge his inferiority, as to ſacrifice any point of honour, or to relinquiſh any matter of right; ſo that the plenipotentiaries ſpent the time in long and fruitleſs (1538.) negociations, and ſeparated after agreeing to prolong the truce for a few months.

The Pope conducts theſe in perſon.

THE Pope, however, did not deſpair of accompliſhing a point in which the plenipotentiaries had failed, and took upon himſelf the ſole burden

den of negociating a peace. To form a confederacy capable of defending Christendom from the formidable inroads of the Turkish arms, and to concert effectual measures for the extirpation of the Lutheran heresy, were two great objects which Paul had much at heart, and he considered the union of the Emperor with the King of France as an essential preliminary to both. To be the instrument of reconciling these contending Monarchs, whom his predecessors by their interested and indecent intrigues had so often embroiled, was a circumstance which could not fail of throwing distinguished lustre on his character and administration. Nor was he without hopes that, while he pursued this laudable end, he might secure advantages to his own family, the aggrandizing of which he did not neglect, though he aimed at it with a less audacious ambition than was common among the Popes of that century. Influenced by these considerations, he proposed an interview between the two Monarchs at Nice, and offered to repair thither in person, that he might act as mediator in composing all their differences. When a Pontiff of a venerable character, and of very advanced age, was willing, from his zeal for peace, to undergo the fatigues of such a distant journey, neither Charles nor Francis could with decency decline the interview. But though both came to the place of rendezvous, so great was

 the

BOOK VI. 1538. the difficulty of adjusting the ceremonial, or such the remains of distrust and rancour on each side, that they refused to see one another, and every thing was transacted by the intervention of the Pope, who visited them alternately. Nor could he with all his zeal and ingenuity find out any method of removing the obstacles, particularly those arising from the possession of the Milanese, which prevented a final accommodation; nor was all the weight of his authority sufficient to overcome the obstinate perseverance of either Monarch in asserting his own claims. At last, that he might not seem to have laboured altogether without effect, he prevailed on them to sign a truce for ten years, upon the same condition with the former, that each should retain what was now in his possession, and in the mean time should send ambassadors to Rome, to discuss their pretensions at leisure [c].

A truce for ten years concluded at Nice. June 18.

THUS ended a war of no long continuance, but very extensive in its operations, and in which both parties exerted their utmost strength. Though Francis failed in the object that he had principally in view, the recovery of the Milanese, he acquired, nevertheless, great reputation by the wisdom of his measures as well as

[c] Recueil des Traitez, ii. 210. Relatione del Nicolo Tiepolo del'abocamento di Nizza chez. Du Mont Corps Diplomat. par. ii. p. 174.

the

the succefs of his arms in repulsing a formidable invasion; and by securing possession of one half of the Duke of Savoy's dominions, he added no inconsiderable accession to his kingdom. Whereas Charles, repulsed and baffled, after having boasted so arrogantly of victory, purchased an inglorious truce, by sacrificing an ally who had rashly confided too much in his friendship and power. The unfortunate Duke murmured, complained, and remonstrated against a treaty so much to his disadvantage; but in vain; he had no means of redress, and was obliged to submit. Of all his dominions, Nice, with its dependencies, was the only corner of which he himself kept possession. He saw the rest divided between a powerful invader and the ally to whose protection he had trusted, while he remained a sad monument of the imprudence of weak Princes, who by taking part in the quarrel of mighty neighbours, between whom they happen to be situated, are crushed and overwhelmed in the shock.

Interview between Charles and Francis at Aigues-mortes.

A few days after signing the treaty of truce, the Emperor set sail for Barcelona, but was driven by contrary winds to the island St. Margaret on the coast of Provence. When Francis, who happened to be not far distant, heard of this, he considered it as an office of civility to invite him to take shelter in his dominions, and proposed a personal interview with him at Aigues-

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Aigues-mortes. The Emperor, who would not be outdone by his rival in complaiſance, inſtantly repaired thither. As ſoon as he caſt anchor in the road, Francis, without waiting to ſettle any point of ceremony, but relying implicitly on the Emperor's honour for his ſecurity, viſited him on board his galley, and was received and entertained with the warmeſt demonſtrations of eſteem and affection. Next day the Emperor repaid the confidence which the King had placed in him. He landed at Aigues-mortes with as little precaution, and met with a reception equally cordial. He remained on ſhore during the night, and in both viſits they vied with each other in expreſſions of reſpect and friendſhip[d]. After twenty years of open hoſtilities, or of ſecret enmity; after ſo many injuries reciprocally inflicted or endured; after having formally given the lie and challenged one another to ſingle combat; after the Emperor had inveighed ſo publickly againſt Francis as a Prince void of honour or integrity; and Francis had accuſed him as acceſſary to the murder of his eldeſt ſon, ſuch an interview appears altogether ſingular and even unnatural. But the hiſtory of theſe Monarchs abounds with ſuch ſurprizing tranſitions. From

[d] Sandov. Hiſt. vol. ii. 238. Relation de l'entrevue de Charl. V. & Fran. I. par M. de la Rivoire. Hiſt. de Langued. par D. D. De Vic & Vaiſette. tom. v. Preuves, p. 93.

implacable enmity they appeared to paſs, in a moment, to the moſt cordial reconcilement; from ſuſpicion and diſtruſt to perfect confidence; and from practiſing all the dark arts of a deceitful policy, they could aſſume, of a ſudden, the liberal and open manners of two gallant gentlemen. Book VI. 1538.

The Pope, beſides the glory of having reſtored peace to Europe, gained, according to his expectation, a point of great conſequence to his family, by prevailing on the Emperor to betroth Margaret of Auſtria his natural daughter, formerly the wife of Alexander di Medici, to his grandſon Octavio Farneſe, and in conſideration of this marriage, to beſtow ſeveral honours and territories upon his future ſon-in-law. A very tragical event, which happened about the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſeven, had deprived Margaret of her firſt huſband. That young prince, whom the Emperor's partiality had raiſed to the ſupreme power in Florence, upon the ruins of the public liberty, neglected entirely the cares of government, and abandoned himſelf to the moſt diſſolute debauchery. Lorenzo di Medici his neareſt kinſman was not only the companion but director of his pleaſures, and employing all the powers of a cultivated and inventive genius in this diſhonourable miniſtry, added ſuch elegance

The aſſaſſination of Alexander di Medici.

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as well as variety to vice as gained him an abſolute aſcendant over the mind of Alexander. But while Lorenzo ſeemed to be ſunk in luxury, and affected ſuch an appearance of indolence and effeminacy, that he would not wear a ſword, and trembled at the ſight of blood, he concealed under that diſguiſe, a dark, deſigning, audacious ſpirit. Prompted either by the love of liberty, or allured by the hope of attaining the ſupreme power, he determined to aſſaſſinate Alexander his benefactor and friend. Though he long revolved this deſign in his mind, his reſerved and ſuſpicious temper prevented him from communicating it to any perſon whatever; and continuing to live with Alexander in their uſual familiarity, he, one night, under pretence of having ſecured him an aſſignation with a lady of high rank whom he had often ſolicited, drew that unwary Prince into a ſecret apartment of his houſe, and there ſtabbed him, while he lay careleſsly on a couch expecting the arrival of the lady whoſe company he had been promiſed. But no ſooner was the deed done, than ſtanding aſtoniſhed, and ſtruck with horror at its atrocity, he forgot, in a moment, all the motives which had induced him to commit it. Inſtead of rouzing the people to recover their liberty by publiſhing the death of the tyrant, inſtead of taking any ſtep towards opening his own way to the dignity now vacant, he locked the door of the apartment,

apartment, and, like a man bereaved of reaſon and preſence of mind, fled with the utmoſt precipitation out of the Florentine territories. It was late next morning before the fate of the unfortunate Prince was known, as his attendants, accuſtomed to his irregularities, never entered his apartment early. Immediately the chief perſons in the ſtate aſſembled. Being induced partly by the zeal of cardinal Cibo for the houſe of Medici, to which he was nearly related, partly by the authority of Francis Guicciardini, who recalled to their memory and repreſented in ſtriking colours the caprice as well as turbulence of their ancient popular government, they agreed to place Coſmo di Medici, a youth of eighteen, the only male heir of that illuſtrious houſe, at the head of the government; though at the ſame time ſuch was their love of liberty, that they eſtabliſhed ſeveral regulations in order to circumſcribe and moderate his power.

Coſmo di Medici placed at the head of the Florentine ſtate.

Meanwhile Lorenzo having reached a place of ſafety, made known what he had done, to Philip Strozzi and the other Florentines who had been driven into exile, or who had voluntarily retired, when the republican form of government was aboliſhed, in order to make way for the dominion of the Medici. By them, the deed was extolled with extravagant praiſes, and the virtue of Lorenzo was compared

His government oppoſed by the Florentine exiles.

Book VI. 1538. with that of the elder Brutus, who disregarded the ties of blood, or with that of the younger, who forgot the friendship and favours of the tyrant, that they might preserve or recover the liberty of their country [e]. Nor did they rest satisfied with empty panegyricks; they immediately quitted their different places of retreat, assembled forces, animated their vassals and partizans to take arms, and to seize this opportunity of re-establishing the public liberty on its ancient foundation. Being openly assisted by the French ambassador at Rome, and secretly encouraged by the Pope, who bore no good-will to the house of Medici, they entered the Florentine dominions with a considerable body of men. But the persons who had elected Cosmo possessed not only the means of supporting his government, but abilities to employ them in the most proper manner. They levied, with the greatest expedition, a good number of troops; they endeavoured by every art, to gain the citizens of greatest authority, and to render the administration of the young Prince agreeable to the people. Above all, they courted the Emperor's protection, as the only firm foundation of Cosmo's dignity and power. Charles, knowing the propensity of the Florentines to the friendship of France, and how much all the partizans of a republican government detested

[e] Lettere di Principi, tom, iii. p. 52.

him

him as the oppressor of their liberties, saw it to be greatly for his interest to prevent the re-establishment of the ancient constitution in Florence. For this reason, he not only acknowledged Cosmo as head of the Florentine state, and conferred on him all the titles of honour with which Alexander had been dignified, but engaged to defend him to the utmost; and as a pledge of this, ordered the commanders of such of his troops as were stationed on the frontiers of Tuscany, to support him against all aggressors. By their aid, Cosmo obtained an easy victory over the exiles, whose troops he surprized in the night-time, and took most of the chiefs prisoners; an event which broke all their measures, and fully established his own authority. But though he was extremely desirous of the additional honour of marrying the Emperor's daughter, the widow of his predecessor, Charles, secure already of his attachment, chose rather to gratify the Pope by bestowing her on his nephew[f].

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During the war between the Emperor and Francis, an event had happened which abated in some degree the warmth and cordiality of friendship which had long subsisted between the latter

The friendship between Francis and Henry VIII. begins to abate.

[f] Jovii Hist. c. xcviii. p. 218, &c. Belcarii Comment. l. xxii. p. 696. Istoria de sui tempi di Giov. Bat. Adriani. Ven. 1587. p. 10.

Book VI. 1538. latter and the King of England. James the fifth of Scotland, an enterprizing young Prince, having heard of the Emperor's intention to invade Provence, was so fond of shewing that he did not yield to any of his anceftors in the fincerity of his attachment to the French crown, and so eager to diftinguifh himfelf by fome military exploit, that he levied a body of troops with an intention of leading them in perfon to the affiftance of the King of France. Though fome unfortunate accidents prevented his carrying any troops into France, nothing could divert him from going thither in perfon. Immediately upon his landing he haftened to Provence, but had been detained fo long in his voyage that he came too late to have any fhare in the military operations, and met the King on his return after the retreat of the Imperialifts. But Francis was fo greatly pleafed with his zeal, and no lefs with his manners and converfation, that he could not refufe him his daughter Magdalen, whom he demanded in marriage. Jan. 1, 1537. It mortified Henry extremely to fee a Prince of whom he was immoderately jealous, form an alliance, from which he derived fuch an acceffion of reputation as well as fecurity [g]. He could not, however, with decency, oppofe Francis's beftowing his daughter upon a Monarch defcended from a race of

[g] Hift. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 77.

Princes,

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Princes, the most ancient and faithful allies of the French crown. But when James, upon the sudden death of Magdalen, demanded as his second wife Mary of Guise, he warmly solicited Francis to deny his suit, and in order to disappoint him, asked that lady in marriage for himself. When Francis preferred the Scottish King's sincere courtship to his artful and malevolent proposal, he discovered much dissatisfaction. The pacification agreed upon at Nice, and the familiar interview of the two rivals at Aigues-mortes, filled Henry's mind with new suspicions, as if Francis had altogether renounced his friendship for the sake of new connections with the Emperor. Charles, thoroughly acquainted with the temper of the English King, and watchful to observe all the shiftings and caprices of his passions, thought this a favourable opportunity of renewing his negociations with him, which had long been broken off. By the death of Queen Catharine, whose interest the Emperor could not with decency have abandoned, the chief cause of their discord was removed; so that without touching upon the delicate question of her divorce, he might now take what measures he thought most effectual for regaining Henry's good-will. For this purpose, he began with proposing several marriage-treaties to the King. He offered his niece, a daughter of the King of Denmark, to Henry himself; he demanded

The Emperor courts Henry.

manded

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manded the princess Mary for one of the Princes of Portugal, and was even willing to receive her as the King's illegitimate daughter [h]. Though none of these projected alliances ever took place, or perhaps were ever seriously intended, they occasioned such frequent intercourse between the courts, and so many reciprocal professions of civility and esteem, as considerably abated the edge of Henry's rancour against the Emperor, and paved the way for that union between them which afterwards proved so disadvantageous to the French King.

Progress of the Reformation.

THE ambitious schemes in which the Emperor had been engaged, and the wars he had been carrying on for some years, proved, as usual, extremely favourable to the progress of the Reformation in Germany. While Charles was absent upon his African expedition, or intent on his vast projects against France, his chief object in Germany was to prevent the dissensions about religion from disturbing the public tranquillity, by granting such indulgence to the Protestant Princes as might induce them to concur with his measures, or at least hinder them from taking part with his rival. For this reason, he was careful to secure to the Protestants the possession of all the advantages which they had gained by the articles of pacification at Nuremberg, in the

[h] Mem. de Ribier, t. i. 496.

year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-two [i]; and except ſome ſlight trouble from the proceedings of the Imperial chamber, they met with nothing to diſturb them in the exerciſe of their religion, or to interrupt the ſucceſsful zeal with which they propagated their opinions. Meanwhile the Pope continued his negociations for convoking a general council; and though the Proteſtants had expreſſed great diſſatisfaction with his intention to fix upon Mantua as the place of meeting, he adhered obſtinately to his choice, iſſued a bull on the ſecond of June, one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſix, appointing it to aſſemble in that city on the twenty-third of May the year following; he nominated three cardinals to preſide in his name; enjoined all Chriſtian Princes to countenance it by their authority, and invited the prelates of every nation to attend in perſon. This citation of a council, an aſſembly which from its nature and intention demanded quiet times, as well as pacific diſpoſitions, at the very juncture when the Emperor was on his march towards France, and ready to involve a great part of Europe in the confuſions of war, appeared to every perſon extremely unſeaſonable. It was intimated, however, to all the different courts by nuncios diſpatched of

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Negociations and intrigues with reſpect to a general council.

[i] Du Mont Corps Diplom. tom. iv. part. 2. p. 138.

purpoſe.

Book VI. 1538. purpoſe[k]. The Emperor, with an intention to gratify the Germans, had, during his reſidence at Rome, warmly ſolicited the Pope to call a council; but being at the ſame time willing to try every art in order to perſuade Paul to depart from the neutrality which he preſerved between him and Francis, he ſent Heldo his vice-chancellor along with the nuncio whom the Pope employed in Germany, inſtructing him to ſecond all the nuncio's repreſentations, and to enforce them with the whole weight of the Imperial authority. Feb. 25, 1537. The Proteſtants gave them audience at Smalkalde, where they had aſſembled in a body, in order to receive them. But after weighing all their arguments, they unanimouſly refuſed to acknowledge a council ſummoned in the name and by the authority of the Pope alone; in which he aſſumed the ſole right of preſiding; which was to be held in a city not only far diſtant from Germany, but ſubject to a Prince, a ſtranger to them, and cloſely connected with the court of Rome; and to which their divines could not repair with ſafety, eſpecially after their doctrines had been ſtigmatized in the very bull of convocation with the name of hereſy. Theſe and many other objections againſt the council, which appeared to them unanſwerable, they enumerated in a large manifeſto,

[k] Pallavic. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. 113.

which they publiſhed in vindication of their conduct[l]. Book VI. 1538.

Against this the court of Rome exclaimed as a flagrant proof of their obſtinacy and preſumption, and the Pope ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution to hold the council at the time and in the place appointed. But ſome unexpected difficulties being ſtarted by the Duke of Mantua, both about the right of juriſdiction over the perſons who reſorted to the council, and the ſecurity of his capital amidſt ſuch a concourſe of ſtrangers, the Pope, after fruitleſs endeavours to adjuſt theſe, firſt prorogued the council for Octob. 8, ſome months, and afterwards transferring the 1538. place of meeting to Vicenza in the Venetian territories, appointed it to aſſemble on the firſt of May in the following year. As neither the Emperor nor French King, who had not then come to any accommodation, would permit their ſubjects to repair thither, not a ſingle prelate appeared on the day prefixed, and the Pope, that his authority might not become altogether contemptible by ſo many ineffectual intimations, put off the meeting by an indefinite prorogation[m].

[l] Sleidan, l. xii. 123, &c. Seckend. Com. lib. iii. p. 143, &c.

[m] F. Paul, 117. Pallavic. 117.

Book VI. 1538. A partial reformation of abuses by the Pope.

Meanwhile, that he might not ſeem to have turned his whole attention towards a reformation which he was not able to accompliſh, while he neglected that which was in his own power, he deputed a certain number of cardinals and biſhops, with full authority to inquire into the abuſes and corruptions of the Roman court; and to propoſe the moſt effectual method of removing them. This ſcrutiny, undertaken with reluctance, was carried on ſlowly and with remiſſneſs. All defects were touched with a gentle hand, afraid of probing too deep, or of diſcovering too much. But even by this partial examination, many irregularities were detected, and many enormities expoſed to light; while the remedies which they ſuggeſted as moſt proper, were either inadequate, or were never applied. The report and reſolutions of theſe deputies, though intended to be kept ſecret, were tranſmitted by ſome accident into Germany, and being immediately made public, afforded ample matter for reflection and triumph to the Proteſtants [n]. On the one hand they demonſtrated the neceſſity of a reformation in the head as well as the members of the church, and even pointed out many of the corruptions againſt which Luther and his followers had remonſtrated with the greateſt vehemence. They ſhewed, on the other

[n] Sleidan, 233.

hand,

hand, that it was vain to expect this reformation from ecclesiastics themselves, who, as Luther strongly expressed it, piddled at curing warts, while they overlooked or confirmed ulcers [o]. Book VI. 1539.

A league formed in opposition to that at Smalkalde.

The earnestness with which the Emperor seemed, at first, to press their acquiescing in the Pope's scheme of holding a council in Italy, alarmed the Protestant Princes so much, that they thought it prudent to strengthen their confederacy, by admitting several new members who solicited that privilege, particularly the King of Denmark. Heldo, who, during his residence in Germany, had observed all the advantages which they derived from that union, endeavoured to counterbalance its effects by an alliance among the catholic powers of the Empire. This league distinguished by the name of *Holy*, was merely defensive; and though concluded by Heldo in the Emperor's name, was afterwards disowned by him, and subscribed by very few Princes [p].

Alarms the Protestants.

The Protestants soon got intelligence of this association, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the contracting parties to conceal it; and their zeal, always apt to suspect and to dread,

[o] Seck. l. iii. 164. [p] Seck. l. iii. 171. Recueil de Traitez.

Book VI. 1539. even to excefs, every thing that feemed to threaten religion, inftantly took the alarm as if the Emperor had been juft ready to enter upon the execution of fome formidable plan for the extirpation of their opinions. In order to difappoint this, they held frequent confultations, they courted the Kings of France and England with great affiduity, and even began to think of raifing the refpective contingents both in men and money which they were obliged to furnifh by the treaty of Smalkalde. But it was not long before they were convinced that thefe apprehenfions were without foundation, and that the Emperor, to whom repofe was abfolutely neceffary after efforts fo much beyond his ftrength in the war with France, had no thoughts of difturbing the tranquillity of Germany. As a proof of this, his ambaffadors, at an interview with April 19. the Proteftant Princes in Francfort, agreed that all conceffions in their favour, particularly thofe contained in the pacification of Nuremberg, fhould continue in force for fifteen months; that during this period all proceedings of the Imperial chamber againft them fhould be fufpended; that a conference fhould be held by a few divines of each party, in order to difcufs the points in controverfy, and to propofe articles of accommodation which fhould be laid before the next diet. Though the Emperor, that he might not irritate the Pope, who remonftrated againft

the first part of this agreement as impolitic, and against the latter as an impious encroachment upon his prerogative, never formally ratified this convention, it was observed with considerable exactness, and greatly strengthened the basis of that ecclesiastical liberty, for which the Protestants contended [q]. Book VI. 1539.

A FEW days after the convention at Francfort, George Duke of Saxony died, and his death was an event of great advantage to the Reformation. That Prince, the head of the Albertine, or younger branch of the Saxon family, possessed, as marquis of Misnia and Thuringia, extensive territories, comprehending Dresden, Leipsick, and other cities now the most considerable in the electorate. From the first dawn of the Reformation, he had been its enemy as avowedly as the electoral Princes were its protectors, and had carried on his opposition not only with all the zeal flowing from religious prejudices, but with a virulence inspired by personal antipathy to Luther, and imbittered by the domestic animosity subsisting between him and the other branch of his family. By his death without issue, his succession fell to his brother Henry, whose attachment to the Protestant religion surpassed, if possible, that of his predecessor to popery. Henry no sooner took

April 24. Reformation established in every part of Saxony.

[q] F. Paul, 82. Sleid. 247. Seck. l. iii. 200.

Book VI. 1539. possession of his new dominions, than, disregarding a clause in George's will, dictated by his bigotry, whereby he bequeathed all his territories to the Emperor and King of the Romans, if his brother should attempt to make any innovation in religion, he invited some Protestant divines, and among them Luther himself, to Leipsick. By their advice and assistance, he overturned in a few weeks the whole system of ancient rites, establishing the full exercise of the reformed religion, with the universal applause of his subjects, who had long wished for this change, which the authority of their Duke alone had hitherto prevented [r]. This revolution delivered the Protestants from the danger to which they were exposed by having an inveterate enemy situated in the middle of their territories; and their dominions now extended in one great and almost unbroken line from the shore of the Baltick to the banks of the Rhine.

A mutiny of the Imperial troops.

Soon after the conclusion of the Truce at Nice, an event happened, which satisfied all Europe that Charles had prosecuted the war to the utmost extremity that the state of his affairs would permit. Vast arrears were due to his troops, whom he had long amused with vain hopes and promises. As they now foresaw that

[r] Sleidan, 249.

little

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little attention would be paid to their demands, when by the re-eſtabliſhment of peace their ſervices became of leſs importance, they loſt all patience, broke out into an open mutiny, and declared that they thought themſelves entitled to ſeize by violence what was detained from them contrary to all juſtice. Nor was this ſpirit of ſedition confined to one part of the Emperor's dominions; the mutiny was almoſt as general as the grievance which gave riſe to it. The ſoldiers in the Milaneſe plundered the open country without controul, and filled the capital itſelf with conſternation. Thoſe in garriſon at Goletta threatened to give up that important fortreſs to Barbaroſſa. In Sicily the troops proceeded to ſtill greater exceſſes; having chaced away their officers, they elected others in their ſtead, defeated a body of men whom the viceroy ſent againſt them, took and pillaged ſeveral cities, conducting themſelves all the while, in ſuch a manner, that their operations reſembled rather the regular proceedings of a concerted rebellion, than the raſhneſs and violence of a military mutiny. But by the addreſs and prudence of the generals, who partly by borrowing money in their own name, or in that of their maſter, partly by extorting large ſums from the cities in their reſpective provinces, raiſed what was ſufficient to diſcharge the arrears of the ſoldiers, theſe inſurrections were quelled. The greater

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part of the troops being diſbanded, ſuch a number only as was neceſſary for garriſoning the principal towns, and protecting the ſea-coaſts from the inſults of the Turks, was kept in pay [s].

Cortes of Caſtile held at Toledo.

IT was happy for the Emperor that the abilities of his generals extricated him out of theſe difficulties, which it exceeded his own power to have removed. He had depended, as his chief reſource for diſcharging the arrears due to his ſoldiers, upon the ſubſidies which he expected from his Caſtilian ſubjects. For this purpoſe, he aſſembled the Cortes of Caſtile at Toledo, and having repreſented to them the great expence of his military operations, together with the vaſt debts in which theſe had neceſſarily involved him, he propoſed to levy ſuch ſupplies as the preſent exigency of his affairs demanded, by a general exciſe on commodities. But the Spaniards already felt themſelves oppreſſed with a load of taxes unknown to their anceſtors. They had often complained that their country, in order to proſecute quarrels in which it was not intereſted, and to fight battles from which it could reap no benefit, was drained not only of its wealth but of its inhabitants, and they determined not to add voluntarily to their

The complaints and diſſatisfaction of that aſſembly.

[s] Jovii Hiſtor. l. xxxvii. 203. c. Sandov. Ferreras, ix. 209.

own burdens, or to furnifh the Emperor with the means of engaging in new enterprizes no lefs ruinous to the kingdom than moft of thofe which he had hitherto carried on. The nobles, in particular, inveighed with great vehemence againft the impofition propofed, as an encroachment upon the valuable and diftinguifhing privilege of their order, that of being exempted from the payment of any tax. They demanded a conference with the reprefentatives of the cities concerning the ftate of the nation. They contended that if Charles would imitate the example of his predeceffors, who had refided conftantly in Spain, and would avoid entangling himfelf in a multiplicity of tranfactions foreign to the concerns of his Spanifh dominions, the ftated revenues of the crown would be fully fufficient to defray the neceffary expences of government. They reprefented to him that it would be unjuft to lay new burdens upon the people, while this prudent and effectual method of re-eftablifhing public credit, and fecuring national opulence, was totally neglected [t]. Charles, after employing arguments, intreaties and promifes, but without fuccefs, in order to overcome their obftinacy, difmiffed the affembly with great indignation. From that period neither the nobles nor the prelates have been called to thefe affemblies;

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The ancient conftitution of the Cortes fubverted.

[t] Sandov. Hift. vol. ii. 269.

on pretence that ſuch as pay no part of the public taxes, ſhould claim no vote in laying them on. None have been admitted to the Cortes but the procurators or repreſentatives of eighteen cities. Theſe, to the number of thirty-ſix, being two from each community, form an aſſembly which bears no reſemblance either in power or dignity or independence to the ancient Cortes, and are abſolutely at the devotion of the court in all their determinations [u]. Thus the imprudent zeal with which the Caſtilian nobles had ſupported the regal prerogative, in oppoſition to the claims of the commons during the commotions in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-one, proved at laſt fatal to their own body. By enabling Charles to depreſs one of the orders in the ſtate, they deſtroyed that balance to which the conſtitution owed its ſecurity, and put it in his power, or in that of his ſucceſſors, to humble the other, and to ſtrip it of its moſt valuable privileges.

The Spaniſh grandees ſtill poſſeſſed high privileges.

AT that time, however, the Spaniſh grandees ſtill poſſeſſed extraordinary power as well as privileges, which they exerciſed and defended with an haughtineſs peculiar to themſelves. Of this the Emperor himſelf had a mortifying proof during the meeting of the Cortes at Toledo. As

[u] Sandov. ibid. La Science du Gouvernement, par M. de Real, tom. ii. p. 102.

he was returning one day from a tournament accompanied by most of the nobility, one of the serjeants of the court, out of officious zeal to clear the way for the Emperor, struck the Duke of Infantado's horse with his batton, which that haughty grandee resenting, drew his sword, beat and wounded the officer. Charles, provoked at such an insolent deed in his presence, immediately ordered Ronquillo the judge of the court to arrest the Duke; Ronquillo advanced to execute his charge, when the constable of Castile interposing, checked him, claimed the right of jurisdiction over a grandee as a privilege of his office, and conducted Infantado to his own apartment. All the nobles present were so pleased with the boldness of the constable in asserting the rights of their order, that deserting the Emperor, they attended him to his house with infinite applauses, and Charles returned to the palace without any person along with him but the cardinal Tavera. The Emperor, how sensible soever of the affront, saw the danger of irritating a jealous and high-spirited order of men, whom the slightest appearance of offence might drive to the most unwarrantable extremes. For that reason, instead of straining at any ill-timed exertion of his prerogative, he prudently connived at the arrogance of a body too potent for him to controul, and sent next morning to the Duke of Infantado, offering to inflict what punishment

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punishment he pleased on the person who had affronted him. The Duke considering this as a full reparation to his honour, instantly forgave the officer; bestowing on him, besides, a considerable present as a compensation for his wound. Thus the affair was entirely forgotten[x]; nor would it have deserved to be mentioned, if it were not a striking example of the haughty and independent spirit of the Spanish nobles in that age, as well as an instance of the Emperor's dexterity in accommodating his conduct to the circumstances in which he was placed.

Insurrection at Ghent.

CHARLES was far from discovering any such condescension or lenity towards the citizens of Ghent, who not long after broke out into open rebellion against his government. An event which happened in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-six, gave occasion to this rash insurrection so fatal to that flourishing city. At that time the Queen dowager of Hungary, governess of the Netherlands, having received orders from her brother to invade France with all the forces which she could raise, she assembled the States of the united Provinces, and obtained from them a subsidy of twelve hundred thousand florins, to defray the expence of that undertaking. Of this sum, the county of Flanders was obliged to pay a third part as its

[x] Sandov. ii. 274. Ferraras, ix. 212. Miniana, 113.

propor-

proportion. But the citizens of Ghent, the moſt conſiderable city in that country, averſe to a war with France, with which they carried on an extenſive and gainful commerce, refuſed to pay their quota, and contended, that in conſequence of ſtipulations between them and the anceſtors of their preſent ſovereign the Emperor, no tax could be levied upon them, unleſs they had given their expreſs conſent to the impoſition of it. The governeſs, on the other hand, maintained, that as the ſubſidy of twelve hundred thouſand florins had been granted by the States of Flanders, of which their repreſentatives were members, they were bound, of courſe, to conform to what was enacted by them, as it is the firſt principle in ſociety, on which the tranquillity and order of government depend, that the inclinations of the minority muſt be over-ruled by the judgment and deciſion of the ſuperior number.

Pretenſions of the citizens.

The citizens of Ghent, however, were not willing to relinquiſh a privilege of ſuch high importance as that which they claimed. Having been accuſtomed, under the governmant of the houſe of Burgundy, to enjoy extenſive immunities, and to be treated with much indulgence, they diſdained to ſacrifice to the delegated power of a regent, thoſe rights and liberties which they had often and ſucceſsfully aſſerted againſt their greateſt

Proceedings againſt them.

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greateſt Princes. The Queen, though ſhe endeavoured at firſt to ſoothe them, and to reconcile them to their duty by various conceſſions, was at laſt ſo much irritated by the obſtinacy with which they adhered to their claim, that ſhe ordered all the citizens of Ghent, on whom ſhe could lay hold in any part of the Netherlands, to be arreſted. But this raſh action made an impreſſion very different from what ſhe expected, on men, whoſe minds were agitated with all the violent paſſions which indignation at oppreſſion and zeal for liberty inſpire. Leſs affected with the danger of their friends and companions, than irritated at the governeſs, they openly deſpiſed her authority, and ſent deputies to the other towns of Flanders, conjuring them not to abandon their country at ſuch a juncture, but to concur with them in vindicating its rights againſt the encroachments of a woman, who either did not know or did not regard their immunities. All but a few inconſiderable towns declined entering into any confederacy againſt the governeſs; they joined, however, in petitioning her to put off the term for payment of the tax ſo long, that they might have it in their power to ſend ſome of their number into Spain, in order to lay their title to exemption before their ſovereign. This ſhe granted with ſome difficulty. But Charles received their commiſſioners with an haughtineſs to which they were not accuſtomed

from their ancient Princes, and enjoining them to yield the same respectful obedience to his sister, which they owed to him in person, remitted the examination of their claim to the council of Malines. This court, which is properly a standing committee of the parliament or states of the county, and which possesses the supreme jurisdiction in all matters civil as well as criminal [y], pronounced the claim of the citizens of Ghent to be ill-founded, and appointed them forthwith to pay their proportion of the tax.

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They take arms, and offer to submit to France.

Enraged at this decision, which they considered as notoriously unjust, and rendered desperate on seeing their rights betrayed by that very court which was bound to protect them, the people of Ghent ran to arms in a tumultuary manner, drove such of the nobility as resided among them out of the city; secured several of the Emperor's officers; put one of them to the torture, whom they accused of having stolen or destroyed the record, that contained the privileges of exemption from taxes which they pleaded; chose a council to which they committed the direction of their affairs; gave orders for repairing and adding to their fortifi-

[y] Descrittione di tutti paesi bassi di Lud. Guicciardini. Ant. 1571. fol. p. 53.

cations;

Book VI. 1539. cations; and openly erected the ſtandard of rebellion againſt their ſovereign [z]. Senſible, however, of their inability to ſupport what their zeal had prompted them to undertake, and deſirous of ſecuring a protector againſt the formidable forces by which they might expect ſoon to be attacked, they ſent ſome of their number to Francis, offering not only to acknowledge him as their ſovereign, and to put him in immediate poſſeſſion of Ghent, but to aſſiſt him with all their forces in recovering thoſe provinces in the Netherlands, which had anciently belonged to the crown of France, and had been ſo lately reunited to it by the decree of the parliament of Paris. This unexpected propoſition coming from perſons who had it in their power to have performed inſtantly one part of what they undertook, and who could contribute ſo effectually towards the execution of the whole, opened vaſt as well as alluring proſpects to Francis's ambition. The counties of Flanders and Artois were of greater value than the dutchy of Milan, which he had ſo long laboured to acquire with paſſionate but fruitleſs deſire; their ſituation with reſpect to France rendered it more eaſy to conquer or to defend them; and they might be formed into a ſeparate principality for the Duke of

[z] Memoires ſur la revolte de Gantois en 1539, par Jean d'Hollander, ecrit en 1547. A la Haye 1747. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. xi. p. 262. Sandov, Hiſtor. tom. ii. p. 282.

of Orleans, no leſs ſuitable to his dignity than that which his father aimed at obtaining. To this, the Flemings, who were acquainted with the French manners and government, would not have been averſe; and his own ſubjects, weary of their deſtructive expeditions into Italy, would have turned their arms towards this quarter with more good-will, and with greater vigour. Several conſiderations, nevertheleſs, prevented Francis from laying hold of this opportunity, the moſt favourable in appearance which had ever preſented itſelf, of extending his dominions or diſtreſſing the Emperor. From the time of their interview at Aigues-mortes, Charles had continued to court the King of France with wonderful attention; and often flattered him with hopes of gratifying at laſt his wiſhes concerning the Milaneſe, by granting the inveſtiture of it either to him or to one of his ſons. But though theſe hopes and promiſes were thrown out with no other intention than to detach him from his confederacy with the grand Seignior, or to raiſe ſuſpicions in Solyman's mind by the appearance of a cordial and familiar intercourſe ſubſiſting between the courts of Paris and Madrid, Francis was weak enough to catch at the ſhadow by which he had been ſo often deceived, and from eagerneſs to ſeize it, relinquiſhed what muſt have proved a more ſubſtantial acquiſition. Beſides this, the Dauphin jealous to exceſs of his

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Francis declines their offer.

MAHARAJA BERFOBI'S BANAS

BOOK VI. 1539. his brother, and unwilling that a Prince who seemed to be of a restless and enterprizing nature should obtain an establishment, which from its situation might be considered alm... as a domestic one, made use of Montmorency, who, by a singular piece of good fortune, was at the same time the favourite of the father and of the son, to defeat the application of the Flemings, and to divert the King from espousing their cause. Montmorency represented accordingly the reputation and power which Francis would acquire by recovering that footing which he had formerly in Italy, and that nothing could be so efficacious to overcome the Emperor's aversion to this, as his adhering sacredly to the truce, and refusing on this occasion to countenance his rebellious subjects. Francis, apt of himself to over-rate the value of the Milanese, because he estimated it from the length of time as well as from the great efforts which he had employed in order to re-conquer it, and fond of every action which had the appearance of generosity, assented without difficulty to sentiments so agreeable to his own, rejected the propositions of the citizens of Ghent, and dismissed their deputies with an harsh answer [a].

[a] Mem. de Bellay, p. 263. P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. xi. 263.

Not

Book VI. 1539. Communicates their intentions to the Emperor.

Not satisfied with this, by a farther refinement in generosity, he communicated to the Emperor his whole negociation with the malecontents, and all that he knew of their schemes and intentions[b]. This convincing proof of Francis's disinterestedness relieved Charles from the most disquieting apprehensions, and opened a way to extricate himself out of all his difficulties. He had already received full information of all the transactions in the Netherlands, and of the rage with which the people of Ghent had taken arms against his government. He was thoroughly acquainted with the genius and qualities of his subjects in that country; with their love of liberty; their attachment to their ancient privileges and customs; as well as the invincible obstinacy with which their minds, slow but firm and persevering, adhered to any measure on which they had leisure to fix. He easily saw what encouragement and support they might have derived from the assistance of France; and though now free from any danger on that quarter, he was still sensible that some immediate as well as vigorous interposition was necessary, in order to prevent the spirit of disaffection from spreading in a country where the number of cities, the multitude of people, together with the great wealth diffused among them by com-

[b] Sandov. Histor. tom. ii. 284.

Book VI. 1539. Charles's deliberations concerning his journey to the Netherlands.

merce, rendered it peculiarly formidable, and would supply it with inexhaustible resources. No expedient, after long deliberation, appeared to him so effectual as his going in person to the Netherlands; and the governess his sister being of the same opinion, warmly solicited him to undertake the journey. There were only two different routs which he could take; one by land, through Italy and Germany, the other entirely by sea, from some port in Spain to one in the Low-Countries. But the former was more tedious than suited the present exigency of his affairs; nor could he in consistency with his dignity or even his safety pass through Germany without such a train both of attendants and of troops, as would have added greatly to the time that he must have consumed in his journey; the latter was dangerous at this season, and not to be ventured upon, while he was uncertain with respect to the friendship of the King of England, unless under the convoy of a powerful fleet. This perplexing situation, in which he was under a necessity of chusing, and did not know what to chuse, inspired him at last with the singular and seemingly extravagant thought of passing through France, as the most expeditious way of reaching the Netherlands. He proposed in his council to demand Francis's permission for that purpose. All his counsellors joined with one voice in condemning the measure as no less

Proposes to pass through France.

raſh than unprecedented, and which muſt infallibly expoſe him to diſgrace or to danger; to diſgrace, if the demand were rejected in the manner that he had reaſon to expect; to danger, if he put his perſon in the power of an enemy whom he had often offended, who had ancient injuries to revenge, as well as ſubjects of preſent conteſt ſtill remaining undecided. But Charles, who had ſtudied the character of his rival with greater care, and more profound diſcernment than any of his miniſters, perſiſted in his plan, and flattered himſelf that it might be accompliſhed not only without danger to his own perſon, but even without the expence of any conceſſion detrimental to his crown.

To which Francis conſents.

With this view he communicated the matter to the French ambaſſador at his court, and ſent Granvelle his chief miniſter to Paris, in order to obtain from Francis permiſſion to paſs through his dominions, and to promiſe that he would ſoon ſettle the affair of the Milaneſe to his ſatiſfaction. But at the ſame time he entreated that Francis would not exact any new promiſe, or even inſiſt on former engagements, at this juncture, leſt whatever he ſhould grant, under his preſent circumſtances, might ſeem rather to be extorted by neceſſity, than to flow from friendſhip or the love of juſtice. Francis, inſtead of attending to the ſnare which ſuch a ſlight artifice

BOOK VI. 1539. ſcarcely concealed, was ſo dazzled with the ſplendour of overcoming an enemy by acts of generoſity, and ſo pleaſed with the air of ſuperiority which the rectitude and diſintereſtedneſs of his proceedings gave him on this occaſion, that he at once aſſented to all that was demanded. Judging of the Emperor's heart by his own, he imagined that the ſentiments of gratitude, ariſing from the remembrance of good offices and liberal treatment, would determine him more forcibly to fulfil what he had ſo often promiſed, than the moſt preciſe ſtipulations that could be inſerted in any treaty.

His reception in that kingdom.

UPON this, Charles, to whom every moment was precious, ſet out, notwithſtanding the fears and ſuſpicions of his Spaniſh ſubjects, with a ſmall but ſplendid train of about an hundred perſons. At Bayonne, on the frontiers of France, he was received by the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, attended by the conſtable Montmorency. The two Princes offered to go into Spain, and to remain there as hoſtages for the Emperor's ſafety; but this he rejected, declaring that he relied with implicit confidence on the King's honour, and had never demanded nor would accept of any other pledge for his ſecurity. In all the towns through which he paſſed the greateſt poſſible magnificence was diſplayed; the magiſtrates preſented him the keys of the gates;

gates; the prison doors were set open; and, by the royal honours paid to him, he appeared more like the sovereign of the country than a stranger. The King advanced as far as Chatelherault to meet him; their interview was distinguished by the warmest expressions of friendship and regard. They proceeded together towards Paris, and presented to the inhabitants of that city, the extraordinary spectacle of two rival Monarchs, whose enmity had disturbed and laid waste Europe during twenty years, making their solemn entry together with all the symptoms of a confidential harmony, as if they had forgotten for ever past injuries, and would never revive hostilities for the future [c].

Book VI. 1539. 1540.

The Emperor's solicitude,

CHARLES remained six days at Paris; but amidst the perpetual caresses of the French court, and the various entertainments contrived to amuse or to do him honour, he discovered an extreme impatience to continue his journey, arising as much from an apprehension of danger which constantly oppressed him, as from the necessity of his presence in the Low-Countries. Conscious of the disingenuity of his own intentions, he trembled when he reflected that some fatal accident might betray them to his rival, or lead him to suspect them; and though his arti-

[c] Thuan Hist. lib. i c 14. Mem. de Bellay, 264.

Book VI. 1540. fices to conceal these should be successful, he could not help fearing that motives of interest might at last triumph over the scruples of honour, and tempt Francis to avail himself of the advantage now in his hands. Nor were there wanting persons among the French ministers, who advised the King to turn his own arts against the Emperor, and as the retribution due for so many instances of fraud or falsehood, to seize and detain his person until he granted him full satisfaction with regard to all the just claims of the French crown. But no consideration could induce Francis to violate the faith which he had pledged, nor could any argument convince him that Charles, after all the promises that he had given, and all the favours which he had received, might still be capable of deceiving him. Full of this false confidence he accompanied him to St. Quintin, and the two Princes, who had met him on the borders of Spain, did not take leave of him until he entered his dominions in the Low-Countries.

and disingenuity. January 24. As soon as the Emperor reached his own territories, the French ambassadors demanded the accomplishment of what he had promised concerning the investiture of Milan; but Charles, under the plausible pretext that his whole attention was then engrossed by the consultations necessary towards suppressing the rebellion in Ghent;

Ghent, put off the matter for ſome time. But in order to prevent Francis from ſuſpecting his ſincerity, he ſtill continued to talk of his reſolutions with reſpect to that matter in the ſame ſtrain as when he entered France, and even wrote to the King much to the ſame purpoſe, though in general terms, and with equivocal expreſſions, which he might afterwards explain away or interpret at pleaſure [a]. Book VI. 1540.

Meanwhile, the unfortunate citizens of Ghent, deſtitute of leaders capable either of directing their councils, or conducting their troops; abandoned by the French King and unſupported by their countrymen; were unable to reſiſt their offended ſovereign, who was ready to advance againſt them with one body of troops which he had raiſed in the Netherlands, with another drawn out of Germany, and a third which had arrived from Spain by ſea. The near approach of danger made them, at laſt, ſo ſenſible of their own folly, that they ſent ambaſſadors to the Emperor, imploring his mercy, and offering to ſet open their gates at his approach. Charles, without vouchſafing them any other anſwer, than that he would appear among them as their ſovereign, with the ſceptre and the ſword in his hand, began his march at the head Reduction of Ghent,

[a] Memoires de Ribier, i. 504.

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of his troops. Though he chose to enter the city on the twenty-fourth of February, his birth-day, he was touched with nothing of that tenderness or indulgence which was natural towards the place of his nativity.

and punishment of the citizens. April 20.

Twenty-six of the principal citizens were put to death; a greater number was sent into banishment; the city was declared to have forfeited all its privileges and immunities; the revenues belonging to it were confiscated; its ancient form of government was abolished; the nomination of its magistrates was vested for the future in the Emperor and his successors; a new system of laws and political administration was prescribed[b], and in order to bridle the seditious spirit of the citizens, orders were given to erect a strong citadel, for defraying the expence of which a fine of an hundred and fifty thousand florins was imposed on the inhabitants, together with an annual tax of six thousand florins for the support of a garrison[c]. By these rigorous proceedings, Charles not only punished the citizens of Ghent, but set an awful example of severity before his other subjects in the Netherlands, whose immunities and privileges, partly the effect, partly the cause of their extensive commerce, circumscribed the royal

[b] Les coutumes & loix du Comptè de Flandre, par Alex. le Grande, 3 tom. fol. Cambray, 1719, tom. i. p. 169.

[c] Haræi Annales Brabantiæ, vol. i. 616.

prerogative

prerogative within very narrow bounds, and often ſtood in the way of meaſures which he wiſhed to undertake, or fettered and retarded him in his operations.

Charles refuſes to fulfil his engagements to Francis.

Charles having thus vindicated and re-eſtabliſhed his authority in the Low-Countries, and being now under no neceſſity of continuing the ſame ſcene of falſehood and diſſimulation with which he had long amuſed Francis, began gradually to throw aſide the veil under which he had concealed his intentions with reſpect to the Milaneſe. At firſt, he eluded the demands of the French ambaſſadors, when they again reminded him of his promiſes; then he propoſed, by way of equivalent for the dutchy of Milan, to grant the Duke of Orleans the inveſtiture of Flanders, clogging the offer, however, with impracticable conditions, or ſuch as he knew would be rejected [d]. At laſt, being driven from all his evaſions and ſubterfuges by their inſiſting for a categorical anſwer, he peremptorily refuſed to give up a territory of ſuch value, or voluntarily to make ſuch a liberal addition to the ſtrength of an enemy by diminiſhing his own power [e]. He denied at the ſame time, that he had ever made any promiſe which could bind him to an action ſo fooliſh, and ſo contrary to his own intereſt [f].

[d] Mem. de Ribier, i. 509. 514. [e] Ribier, i. 519.
[f] Bellay, 365-6.

Of

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Of all the tranſactions in the Emperor's life, this, without doubt, reflects the greateſt diſhonour on his reputation [g]. Though Charles was not extremely ſcrupulous at other times about the means which he employed for accompliſhing his ends, or always obſervant of the ſtrict precepts of veracity and honour, he had hitherto maintained ſome regard for the maxims of that leſs preciſe and rigid morality by which Monarchs think themſelves entitled to regulate their conduct. But, on this occaſion, the ſcheme that he formed of deceiving a generous and open-hearted Prince; the illiberal and mean artifices by which he carried it on; the inſenſibility with which he received all the marks of his friendſhip, as well as the ingratitude with which he requited them; are all equally unbecoming the dignity of his character, and inconſiſtent with the grandeur of his views.

This tranſaction expoſed Francis to as much ſcorn as it did the Emperor to cenſure. After the experience of a long reign, after ſo many opportunities of diſcovering the duplicity and artifices of his rival, the credulous ſimplicity with which he truſted him at this juncture ſeemed to merit no other return than it actually met with. Francis, however, remonſtrated and ex-

[g] Jovii Hiſt. lib. xxxix. p. 238. a.

claimed;

claimed, as if this had been the firſt inſtance in which the Emperor had deceived him. Feeling, as is uſual, the inſult which was offered to his underſtanding ſtill more ſenſibly than the injury done to his intereſt, he diſcovered ſuch reſentment, as made it obvious that he would lay hold on the firſt opportunity of being revenged, and that a war, no leſs rancorous than that which had ſo lately raged, would ſoon break out anew in Europe.

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The Pope authorizes the inſtitution of the Order of Jeſuits.

THIS year is rendered memorable by the eſtabliſhment of the Order of Jeſuits; a body whoſe influence on eccleſiaſtical as well as civil affairs hath been ſo conſiderable, that an account of the genius of its laws and government juſtly merits a place in hiſtory. When men take a view of the rapid progreſs of this ſociety towards wealth and power; when they contemplate the admirable prudence with which it has been governed; when they attend to the perſevering and ſyſtematic ſpirit with which its ſchemes have been carried on; they are apt to aſcribe ſuch a ſingular inſtitution to the ſuperior wiſdom of its founder, and to ſuppoſe that he had formed and digeſted his plan with profound policy. But the Jeſuits, as well as the other monaſtic orders, are indebted for the exiſtence of their order not to the wiſdom of their founder, but to his enthuſiaſm. Ignatio Loyola, whom I have already men-

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mentioned on occaſion of the wound which he received in defending Pampeluna [h], was a fanatic diſtinguiſhed by extravagancies in ſentiment and conduct, no leſs incompatible with the maxims of ſober reaſon, than repugnant to the ſpirit of true religion. The wild adventures, and viſionary ſchemes, in which his enthuſiaſm engaged him, equal any thing recorded in the legends of the Romiſh ſaints; but are unworthy of notice in hiſtory.

Fanaticiſm of Loyola its founder.

PROMPTED by this fanatical ſpirit, or incited by the love of power and diſtinction, from which ſuch pretenders to ſuperior ſanctity are not exempt, Loyola was ambitious of becoming the founder of a religious order. The plan, which he formed of its conſtitution and laws, was ſuggeſted, as he gave out, and as his followers ſtill teach, by the immediate inſpiration of heaven [i]. But notwithſtanding this high pretenſion, his deſign met at firſt with violent oppoſition. The Pope, to whom Loyola had applied for the ſanction of his authority to confirm the inſtitution, referred his petition to a committee of Cardinals. They repreſented the eſtabliſhment to be unneceſſary as well as dangerous, and Paul refuſed to grant his approbation of it. At laſt, Loyola

[h] Vol. ii. Book ii. p. 192.

[i] Compte Rendu des Conſtitutions des Jeſuites, au Parlement de Provence, par M. de Monclar, p. 285.

removed all his ſcruples by an offer which it was impoſſible for any Pope to reſiſt. He propoſed that beſides the three vows of poverty, of chaſtity, and of monaſtic obedience, which are common to all the monaſtic orders, the members of his ſociety ſhould take a fourth vow of obedience to the Pope, binding themſelves to go whitherſoever he ſhould command for the ſervice of religion, and without requiring any thing from the Holy See for their ſupport. At a time when the papal authority had received ſuch a ſhock by the revolt of ſo many nations from the Romiſh church; at a time when every part of the popiſh ſyſtem was attacked with ſo much violence and ſucceſs, the acquiſition of a body of men, thus peculiarly devoted to the See of Rome, and whom it might ſet in oppoſition to all its enemies, was an object of the higheſt conſequence. Paul, inſtantly perceiving this, confirmed the inſtitution of the Jeſuits by his bull; granted the moſt ample privileges to the members of the ſociety; and appointed Loyola to be the firſt General of the order. The event hath fully juſtified Paul's diſcernment, in expecting ſuch beneficial conſequences to the See of Rome from this inſtitution. In leſs than half a century, the ſociety obtained eſtabliſhments in every country that adhered to the Roman catholic church; its power and wealth increaſed amazingly; the number of its members became great;

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The Pope's motives for confirming the order.

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great; their character as well as accomplishments were still greater; and the Jesuits were celebrated by the friends, and dreaded by the enemies of the Romish faith, as the most able and enterprizing order in the church.

Its constitution and genius merit particular attention.

THE constitution and laws of the society were perfected by Laynez and Aquaviva, the two generals who succeeded Loyola, men far superior to their master in abilities, and in the science of government. They framed that system of profound and artful policy which distinguishes the order. The large infusion of fanaticism, mingled with its regulations, should be imputed to Loyola its founder. Many circumstances concurred in giving a peculiarity of character to the order of Jesuits, and in forming the members of it not only to take greater part in the affairs of the world than any other body of monks, but to acquire superior influence in the conduct of them.

The object of the order singular.

THE primary object of almost all the monastic orders is to separate men from the world, and from any concern in its affairs. In the solitude and silence of the cloister, the monk is called to work out his own salvation by extraordinary acts of mortification and piety. He is dead to the world, and ought not to mingle in its transactions. He can be of no benefit to mankind, but

but by his example and by his prayers. On the contrary, the Jesuits are taught to consider themselves as formed for action. They are chosen soldiers, bound to exert themselves continually in the service of God, and of the Pope, his vicar on earth. Whatever tends to instruct the ignorant; whatever can be of use to reclaim or to oppose the enemies of the Holy See, is their proper object. That they may have full leisure for this active service, they are totally exempted from those functions, the performance of which is the chief business of other monks. They appear in no processions; they practise no rigorous austerities; they do not consume one half of their time in the repetition of tedious offices[k]. But they are required to attend to all the transactions of the world, on account of the influence which these may have upon religion; they are directed to study the dispositions of persons in high rank, and to cultivate their friendship[l]; and by the very constitution as well as genius of the order, a spirit of action and intrigue is infused into all its members.

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As the object of the society of Jesuits differed from that of the other monastic orders, the diversity was no less in the form of its govern- ment.

Peculiarities in the form of its policy, particularly with respect to the power of the general.

[k] Compte Rendu, par M. de Monclar, p. xiii. 290. Sur la destruct. des Jesuites, par M. D'Alembert, p. 42.

[l] Compte par M. de Monclar, p. xii.

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ment. The other orders are to be conſidered as voluntary aſſociations, in which whatever effects the whole body, is regulated by the common ſuffrage of all its members. The executive power is veſted in the perſons placed at the head of each convent, or of the whole ſociety; the legiſlative authority reſides in the community. Affairs of moment, relating to particular convents, are determined in conventual chapters; ſuch as reſpect the whole order are conſidered in general congregations. But Loyola, full of the ideas of implicit obedience, which he had derived from his military profeſſion, appointed that the government of his order ſhould be purely monarchical. A general, choſen for life by deputies from the ſeveral provinces, poſſeſſed power that was ſupreme and independent, extending to every perſon, and to every caſe. He, by his ſole authority, nominated provincials, rectors, and every other officer employed in the government of the ſociety, and could remove them at pleaſure. In him was veſted the ſovereign adminiſtration of the revenues and funds of the order. Every member belonging to it was at his diſpoſal; and by his uncontroulable mandate, he could impoſe on them any taſk, or employ them in what ſervice ſoever he pleaſed. To his commands they were required to yield not only outward obedience, but to reſign up to him the inclinations of their own wills,

and

and the ſentiments of their own underſtandings. They were to liſten to his injunctions, as if they had been uttered by Chriſt himſelf. Under his direction, they were to be mere paſſive inſtruments, like clay in the hands of the potter, or like dead carcaſſes incapable of reſiſtance [m]. Such a ſingular form of policy could not fail to impreſs its character on all the members of the order, and to give a peculiar force to all its operations. There is not in the annals of mankind any example of ſuch a perfect deſpotiſm, exerciſed not over monks ſhut up in the cells of a convent, but over men diſperſed among all the nations of the earth.

Circumſtances which enable him to exerciſe it with the greateſt advantage.

As the conſtitutions of the order veſt, in the General, ſuch abſolute dominion over all its members, they carefully provide for his being perfectly informed with reſpect to the character and abilities of his ſubjects. Every novice who offers himſelf as a candidate for entering into the order, is obliged to *manifeſt his conſcience* to the ſuperior, or to a perſon appointed by him; and is required to confeſs not only his ſins and defects, but to diſcover the inclinations, the paſſions, and the bent of his ſoul. This manifeſtation muſt be renewed every ſix months [n]. The

[m] Compte Rendu Parlem. de Bretagne, par M. de Chalotais, p. 41, &c. Compte par M. de Monclar. 83. 185. 343.

[n] Compte par M. de Monclar. p. 121, &c.

ſociety

BOOK VI. 1540. ſociety not ſatisfied with penetrating in this manner into the innermoſt receſſes of the heart, directs each member to obſerve the words and actions of the novices; they are conſtituted ſpies upon their conduct; and are bound to diſcloſe every thing of importance concerning them to the ſuperior. In order that this ſcrutiny into their character may be as complete as poſſible, a long noviciate muſt expire, during which they paſs through the ſeveral gradations of ranks in the ſociety, and they muſt have attained the full age of thirty-three years, before they can be admitted to take the final vows, by which they become *profeſſed* members [o]. By theſe various methods, the ſuperiors, under whoſe immediate inſpection the novices are placed, acquire a thorough knowledge of their diſpoſitions and talents. In order that the General, who is the ſoul that animates and moves the whole ſociety, may have under his eye every thing neceſſary to inform or direct him, the provincials and heads of the ſeveral houſes are obliged to tranſmit to him regular and frequent reports concerning the members under their inſpection. In theſe they deſcend into minute details with reſpect to the character of each perſon, his abilities natural or acquired, his temper, his experience in affairs,

[o] Compte par M. de Moncl. 215. 241. Sur la deſtr. des Jeſ. par M. D'Alemb. p. 39.

and the particular department for which he is best fitted [p]. These reports, when digested and arranged, are entered into registers, kept of purpose that the General may, at one comprehensive view, survey the state of the society in every corner of the earth; observe the qualifications and talents of its members; and thus chuse, with perfect information, the instruments, which

[p] M. de Chalotais has made a calculation of the number of these reports, which the General of the Jesuits must annually receive according to the regulations of the society. These amount in all to 6584. If this sum be divided by 37, the number of provinces in the order, it appears that 177 reports concerning the state of each province are transmitted to Rome annually. Compte, p. 52. Besides this, there may be extraordinary letters, or such as are sent by the monitors or spies which the General and Provincials entertain in each house. Compte par M. de Moncl. p. 431. Hist. des Jesuites, Amst. 1761, tom. iv. p. 56. The provincials and heads of houses not only report concerning the members of the society, but are bound to give the General an account of the civil affairs of the country wherein they are settled, in so far as the knowledge of these may be of benefit to religion. This condition may extend to every particular, so that the General is furnished with full information concerning the transactions of every Prince and state in the world. Compte par M. de Moncl. 443. Hist. des Jesuit. ibid. p. 58. When the affairs with respect to which the provincials or rectors write are of importance, they are directed to use cyphers, and each of them has a particular cypher from the General. Compte par M. Chalotais, p. 54.

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his absolute power can employ in any service for which he thinks meet to destine them [q].

Progress of the power and influence of the order.

As it was the professed intention of the order of Jesuits to labour with unwearied zeal in promoting the salvation of men, this engaged them, of course, in many active functions. From their first institution, they considered the education of youth as their peculiar province; they aimed at being spiritual guides and confessors; they preached frequently in order to instruct the people; they set out as missionaries to convert unbelieving nations. The novelty of the institution, as well as the singularity of its objects procured the order many admirers and patrons. The governors of the society had the address to avail themselves of every circumstance in its favour, and in a short time, the number as well as influence of its members increased wonderfully. Before the expiration of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits had obtained the chief direction of the education of youth in every catholic country in Europe. They had become the confessors of almost all its monarchs, a function of no small importance in any reign, but under a weak Prince, superior even to that of minister. They were the spiritual guides of almost every person eminent for rank or power. They pos-

[q] Compte par M. de Moncl. p. 215. 439.—Compte par M. de Chalotais, p. 52. 222.

sessed

ſeſſed the higheſt degree of confidence and intereſt with the papal court, as the moſt zealous and able champions for its authority. The advantages which an active and enterprizing body of men might derive from all theſe circumſtances are obvious. They formed the minds of men in their youth. They retained an aſcendant over them in their advanced years. They poſſeſſed, at different periods, the direction of the moſt conſiderable courts in Europe. They mingled in all affairs. They took part in every intrigue and revolution. The General, by means of the extenſive intelligence which he received, could regulate the operations of the order with the moſt perfect diſcernment, and by means of his abſolute power could carry them on with the utmoſt vigour and effect [r].

Progreſs of its wealth.

TOGETHER with the power of the order, its wealth continued to increaſe. Various expedients were deviſed for eluding the obligation of

[r] When Loyola in the year 1540 petitioned the Pope to authorize the inſtitution of the order, he had only ten diſciples. But in the year 1608, ſixty-eight years after their firſt inſtitution, the number of Jeſuits had increaſed to ten thouſand five hundred and eighty-one. In the year 1710, the order poſſeſſed twenty-four *profeſſed* houſes; fifty-nine houſes of probation; three hundred and forty reſidencies; ſix hundred and twelve colleges; two hundred miſſions; one hundred and fifty ſeminaries and boarding-ſchools; and conſiſted of 19,998 Jeſuits. Hiſt. des Jeſuites, tom. i. p. 20.

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the vow of poverty. The order acquired ample possessions in every catholic country; and by the number as well as magnificence of its public buildings, together with the value of its property, moveable or real, it vied with the most opulent of the monastic fraternities. Besides the sources of wealth common to all the regular clergy, the Jesuits possessed one which was peculiar to themselves. Under pretext of promoting the success of their missions, and of facilitating the support of their missionaries, they obtained a special licence from the court of Rome, to trade with the nations which they laboured to convert. In consequence of this, they engaged in an extensive and lucrative commerce, both in the East and West Indies. They opened warehouses in different parts of Europe, in which they vended their commodities. Not satisfied with trade alone, they imitated the example of other commercial societies, and aimed at obtaining settlements. They acquired possession accordingly of a large and fertile province in the southern continent of America, and reigned as sovereigns over some hundred thousand subjects [s].

Pernicious effects of these on civil society.

UNHAPPILY for mankind, the vast influence which the order of Jesuits acquired by all these

[s] Hist. des Jes. iv, 168—196, &c.

different

different means, has been often exerted with the moſt pernicious effect. Such was the tendency of that diſcipline obſerved by the ſociety in forming its members, and ſuch the fundamental maxims in its conſtitution, that every Jeſuit was taught to regard the intereſt of the order as the capital object, to which every conſideration was to be ſacrificed. This ſpirit of attachment to their order, the moſt ardent, perhaps, that ever influenced any body of men [t], is the characteriſtic principle of the Jeſuits, and ſerves as a key to the genius of their policy, as well as to the peculiarities in their ſentiments and conduct.

As it was for the honour and advantage of the ſociety, that its members ſhould poſſeſs an aſcendant over perſons in high rank or of great power, the deſire of acquiring and preſerving ſuch a direction of their conduct, with greater facility, has led the Jeſuits to propagate a ſyſtem of relaxed and pliant morality, which accommodates itſelf to the paſſions of men, which juſtifies their vices, which tolerates their imperfections, which authorizes almoſt every action that the moſt audacious or crafty politician would wiſh to perpetrate.

[t] Compte par M. de Moncl. p. 285.

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As the profperity of the order was intimately connected with the prefervation of the papal authority, the Jefuits, influenced by the fame principle of attachment to the interefts of their fociety, have been the moft zealous patrons of thofe doctrines, which tend to exalt ecclefiaftical power on the ruins of civil government. They have attributed to the court of Rome a jurifdiction as extenfive and abfolute as was claimed by the moft prefumptuous pontiffs in the dark ages. They have contended for the entire independence of ecclefiaftics on the civil magiftrate. They have publifhed fuch tenets concerning the duty of oppofing Princes who were enemies of the catholic faith, as countenanced the moft atrocious crimes, and tended to diffolve all the ties which connect fubjects with their rulers.

As the order derived both reputation and authority from the zeal with which it ftood forth in defence of the Romifh church againft the attacks of the reformers, its members, proud of this diftinction, have confidered it as their peculiar function to combat the opinions, and to check the progrefs of the Proteftants. They have made ufe of every art, and have employed every weapon againft them. They have fet themfelves in oppofition to every gentle or tolerating meafure in their favour. They have incef-

incessantly stirred up against them all the rage of ecclesiastical and civil persecution. Book VI. 1540.

Monks of other denominations have, indeed, ventured to teach the same pernicious doctrines, and have held opinions equally inconsistent with the order and happiness of civil society. But they, from reasons which are obvious, have either delivered such opinions with greater reserve, or have propagated them with less success. Whoever recollects the events which have happened in Europe during two centuries, will find that the Jesuits may justly be considered as responsible for most of the pernicious effects arising from that corrupt and dangerous casuistry, from those extravagant tenets concerning ecclesiastical power, and from that intolerant spirit, which have been the disgrace of the church of Rome throughout that period, and which have brought so many calamities upon civil society [u].

Some advantages resulting from the institution of this order.

But amidst many bad consequences flowing from the institution of this order, mankind, it must be acknowledged, have derived from it some considerable advantages. As the Jesuits made the education of youth one of their capital objects, and as their first attempts to establish colleges for the reception of students were vio-

[u] Encyclopedie, Art. *Jesuites*, tom. viii. 513.

lently

Book VI. 1540. lently oppoſed by the univerſities in different countries. it became neceſſary for them, as the moſt effectual method of acquiring the public favour, to ſurpaſs their rivals in ſcience and induſtry. This prompted them to cultivate with great ardour the ſtudy of ancient literature. This put them upon various methods for facilitating the inſtruction of youth; and by the improvements which they made in it, they have contributed ſo much towards the progreſs of polite learning, that on this account they have merited well of ſociety. Nor has the order of Jeſuits been ſucceſsful only in teaching the elements of literature, it has produced likewiſe eminent maſters in many branches of ſcience, and can alone boaſt of a greater number of ingenious authors, than all the other religious fraternities taken together [x].

Particularly to literature.

But

[x] M. d'Alembert has obſerved that though the Jeſuits have made extraordinary progreſs in erudition of every ſpecies; though they can reckon up many of their brethren who have been eminent mathematicians, antiquarians, and critics; though they have even formed ſome orators of reputation; yet the order has never produced one man, whoſe mind was ſo much enlightened with ſound knowledge, as to merit the name of a philoſopher. But it ſeems to be the unavoidable effect of monaſtic education to contract and fetter the human mind. The partial attachment of a monk to the intereſt of his order, which is often incompatible with that of other citizens; the habit of implicit obedience

to

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More especially from the settlement of the Jesuits in Paraguay.

But it is in the new world that the Jesuits have exhibited the most wonderful display of their abilities, and have contributed most effectually to the benefit of the human species. The conquerors of that unfortunate quarter of the globe had nothing in view, but to plunder, to enslave, and to exterminate its inhabitants. The Jesuits alone have made humanity the object of their settling there. About the beginning of the last century they obtained admission into the fertile province of Paraguay, which stretches across the southern continent of America, from the bottom of the mountains of Potosi, to the confines of the Spanish and Portuguese settlements on the banks of the river de la Plata. They found the inhabitants in a state little different from that which takes place among men when they first begin to unite together; strangers to the arts; subsisting precariously by hunting

to the will of a superior, together with the frequent return of the wearisome and frivolous duties of the cloister, debase his faculties, and extinguish that generosity of sentiment and spirit, which qualifies men for thinking or feeling justly with respect to what is proper in life and conduct. Father Paul of Venice is, perhaps, the only person educated in a cloister, that ever was altogether superior to its prejudices, or who viewed the transactions of men, and reasoned concerning the interests of society, with the enlarged sentiments of a philosopher, with the discernment of a man conversant in affairs, and with the liberality of a gentleman.

or

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or fiſhing; and hardly acquainted with the firſt principles of ſubordination and government. The Jeſuits ſet themſelves to inſtruct and to civilize theſe ſavages. They taught them to cultivate the ground, to rear tame animals, and to build houſes. They brought them to live together in villages. They trained them to arts and manufactures. They made them taſte the ſweets of ſociety; and accuſtomed them to the bleſſings of ſecurity and order. Theſe people became the ſubjects of their benefactors; who have governed them with a tender attention, reſembling that with which a father directs his children. Reſpected and beloved almoſt to adoration, a few Jeſuits preſided over ſome hundred thouſand Indians. They maintained a perfect equality among all the members of the community. Each of them was obliged to labour not for himſelf alone, but for the public. The produce of their fields, together with the fruits of their induſtry of every ſpecies, were depoſited in common ſtorehouſes, from which each individual received every thing neceſſary for the ſupply of his wants. By this inſtitution, almoſt all the paſſions which diſturb the peace of ſociety, and render the members of it unhappy, were extinguiſhed. A few magiſtrates, choſen by the Indians themſelves, watched over the public tranquillity and ſecured obedience to the laws. The ſanguinary puniſhments frequent under other govern-

governments were unknown. An admonition from a Jesuit; a slight mark of infamy; or, on some singular occasion, a few lashes with a whip, were sufficient to maintain good order among these innocent and happy people [y]. Book VI. 1540.

But even in this meritorious effort of the Jesuits for the good of mankind, the genius and spirit of their order have mingled and are discernible. They plainly aimed at establishing in Paraguay an independent empire, subject to the society alone, and which, by the superior excellence of its constitution and police, could scarcely have failed to extend its dominion over all the southern continent of America. With this view, in order to prevent the Spaniards or Portuguese in the adjacent settlements, from acquiring any dangerous influence over the people within the limits of the province subject to the society, the Jesuits endeavoured to inspire the Indians with hatred and contempt of these nations. They cut off all intercourse between their subjects and the Spanish or Portuguese settlements. They prohibited any private trader of either nation from entering their territories. When they were obliged to admit any person in a public character from the neighbouring governments, they

Even here the ambition and policy of the order discernible.

[y] Hist. du Paraguay par Pere de Charlevoix, tom. ii. 42, &c. Voyage au Perou par Don G. Juan & D. Ant. de Ulloa, tom. i. 540, &c. Par. 4to. 1752.

Book VI. 1540. not permit him to have any converſation with their ſubjects, and no Indian was allowed even to enter the houſe where theſe ſtrangers reſided, unleſs in the preſence of a Jeſuit. In order to render any communication between them as difficult as poſſible, they induſtriouſly avoided giving the Indians any knowledge of the Spaniſh, or of any other European language; but encouraged the different tribes, which they had civilized, to acquire a certain dialect of the Indian tongue, and laboured to make that the univerſal language throughout their dominions. As all theſe precautions, without military force, would have been inſufficient to have rendered their empire ſecure and permanent, they inſtructed their ſubjects in the European arts of war. They formed them into bodies of cavalry and infantry, completely armed and regularly diſciplined. They provided a great train of artillery, as well as magazines ſtored with all the implements of war. Thus they eſtabliſhed an army ſo numerous and well-appointed, as to be formidable in a country, where a few ſickly and ill-diſciplined battalions compoſed all the military force kept on foot by the Spaniards or Portugueſe [z].

[z] Voyage de Juan & de Ulloa, tom. i. 549. Recueil des toutes les Pieces qui ont paru ſur les Affaires des Jeſuites en Portugal, tom. i. p. 7, &c.

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Reason for giving so full a view of the government and progress of the order.

THE Jesuits gained no considerable degree of power during the reign of Charles V. who, with his usual sagacity, discerned the dangerous tendency of the institution, and checked its progress[a]. But as the order was founded in the period of which I write the history, and as the age to which I address this work hath seen its fall, the view which I have exhibited of the laws and genius of this formidable body will not, I hope, be unacceptable to my readers; especially as one circumstance has enabled me to enter into this detail with particular advantage. Europe had observed for two centuries, the ambition and power of the order. But while it felt many fatal effects of these, it could not fully discern the causes to which they were to be imputed. It was unacquainted with many of the singular regulations in the political constitution or government of the Jesuits, that formed the enterprizing spirit of intrigue which distinguished its members, and elevated the body itself to such a height of power. It was a favourite maxim with the Jesuits, from their first institution, not to publish the rules of their order. These they kept concealed as an impenetrable mystery. They never communicated them to strangers; nor even to the greater part of their own members. They refused to produce them when re-

[a] Compte par M. de Moncl. p. 312.

Book VI. 1540. quired by courts of juſtice [b]; and by a ſtrange ſolecifm in policy, the civil power in different countries authorized or connived at the eſtabliſhment of an order of men, whoſe conſtitution and laws were concealed with a ſolicitude, which alone was a good reaſon for having excluded them. During the proſecutions lately carried on againſt them in Portugal and France, the Jeſuits have been ſo inconſiderate as to produce the myſterious volumes of their inſtitute. By the aid of theſe authentic records, the principles of their government may be delineated, and the ſources of their power inveſtigated with a degree of certainty and preciſion, which, previous to that event, it was impoſſible to attain [c]. But as, I have pointed out the dangerous tendency of the conſtitution and ſpirit of the order with the freedom becoming an hiſtorian, the candour

[b] Hiſt. des Jeſ. tom. iii. 236, &c. Compte par M. de Chalot, p. 38.

[c] The greater part of my information concerning the government and laws of the order of Jeſuits, I have derived from the reports of M. de Chalotais and M. de Monclair. I reſt not, however, upon the authority even of theſe reſpectable magiſtrates, and elegant writers, but upon innumerable paſſages which they have extracted from the conſtitutions of the order, depoſited in their hands. Hoſpinian, a Proteſtant Divine of Zurich, in his *Hiſtoria Jeſuitica*, printed A. D. 1619, publiſhed a ſmall part of the conſtitutions of the Jeſuits, of which by ſome accident he had got a copy; p. 13—54.

and

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and impartiality no lefs requifite in that character call on me to add one obfervation, That no clafs of regular clergy in the Romifh church has been more eminent for decency, and even purity of manners, than the major part of the order of Jefuits [d]. The maxims of an intriguing, ambitious, interefted policy, might influence thofe who governed the fociety, and might even corrupt the heart, and pervert the conduct of fome individuals, while the greater number, engaged in literary purfuits, or employed in the functions of religion, was left to the guidance of thofe common principles which reftrain men from vice, and excite them to what is becoming and laudable. The caufes which occafioned the ruin of this mighty body, as well as the circumftances and effects with which it has been attended in the different countries of Europe, though objects extremely worthy the attention of every intelligent obferver of human affairs, do not fall within the period of this hiftory.

Affairs of Germany.

No fooner had Charles re-eftablifhed order in the Low-Countries, than he was obliged to turn his attention to the affairs of Germany. The Proteftants preffed him earneftly to appoint that conference between a felect number of the divines of each party, which had been ftipulated

[d] Sur la deftruct. des Jef. par M. D'Alembert, p. 55.

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in the convention at Francfort. The Pope considered ſuch an attempt to examine or decide the points in diſpute as derogatory to his right of being the ſupreme judge in controverſy; and being convinced that it would either be ineffectual by determining nothing, or prove dangerous by determining too much, he employed every art to prevent the meeting. The Emperor, however, finding it more for his intereſt to ſooth the Germans, than to gratify Paul, paid little regard to his remonſtrances. In a diet held at Haguenaw, matters were ripened for the conference. In another diet aſſembled at Worms, the conference was begun, Melancthon on the one ſide and Eckius on the other, ſuſtaining the principal part in the diſpute; but after they had made ſome progreſs, though without concluding any thing, it was ſuſpended by the Emperor's command, that it might be renewed with greater ſolemnity in his own preſence in a diet ſummoned to meet at Ratiſbon. This aſſembly was opened with great pomp, and with a general expectation that its proceedings would be vigorous and deciſive. By the conſent of both parties, the Emperor was entruſted with the power of nominating the perſons who ſhould manage the conference, which it was agreed ſhould be conducted not in the form of a public diſputation, but as a friendly ſcrutiny or examination into the articles which had given riſe to the

A conference between the Popiſh and Proteſtant divines, June 25. Dec. 6.

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the present controversies. He appointed Eckius, Gropper and Pflug, on the part of the Catholics; Melancthon, Bucer and Pistorius, on that of the Protestants; all men of distinguished reputation among their own adherents, and, except Eckius, all eminent for their moderation, as well as desirous of peace. As they were about to begin their consultations, the Emperor put into their hands a book, composed, as he said, by a learned divine in the Low-Countries, with such extraordinary perspicuity and temper, as might go far, in his opinion, to unite and comprehend the two contending parties. Gropper, a canon of Cologne, whom he had named among the managers of the conference, a man of address as well as of erudition, was afterwards suspected to be the author of this short treatise. It contained positions with regard to twenty-two of the chief articles in theology, which included most of the questions then agitated in the controversy between the Lutherans and the church of Rome. By ranging his sentiments in a natural order, and expressing them with great simplicity; by employing often the very words of scripture, or of the primitive fathers; by softening the rigour of some opinions, and explaining away what was absurd in others; by concessions, now on one side, and now on the other; and especially by banishing as much as possible scholastic phrases, those words and terms of art in controversy, which

Book VI. 1541. which ſerve as badges of diſtinction to the different ſects, and for which theologians often contend more fiercely than for opinions themſelves; he framed his work in ſuch a manner, as promiſed fairer than any thing that had hitherto been attempted, to compoſe and to terminate religious diſſenſions [e].

Fruitleſs. But the attention of the age was turned, with ſuch acute obſervation, towards theological controverſies, that it was not eaſy to impoſe on it by any gloſs, how artful or ſpecious ſoever. The length and eagerneſs of the diſpute had ſeparated the contending parties ſo completely, and had ſet their minds at ſuch variance, that they were not to be reconciled by partial conceſſions. All the zealous Catholics, particularly the eccleſiaſtics who had a ſeat in the diet, joined in condemning Gropper's treatiſe as too favourable to the Lutheran opinions, the poiſon of which hereſy it conveyed, as they pretended, with greater danger, becauſe it was in ſome degree diſguiſed. The rigid Proteſtants, eſpecially Luther himſelf, and his patron the Elector of Saxony, were for rejecting it as an impious compound of error and truth, craftily prepared that it might impoſe on the weak, the timid and the unthinking. But the divines, to whom the ex-

[e] Goldaſt. Conſtit. Imper. ii. p. 182.

amination of it was committed, entered upon that business with greater deliberation and temper. As it was more easy in itself, as well as more consistent with the dignity of the church to make concessions, and even alterations with regard to speculative opinions, the discussion whereof is confined chiefly to schools, and which present nothing to the people that either strikes their imagination or affects their senses, they came to an accommodation about these without much labour, and even defined the great article concerning justification to their mutual satisfaction. But, when they proceeded to points of jurisdiction, where the interest and authority of the Roman See were concerned, or to the rites and forms of external worship, where every change that could be made must be public, and draw the observation of the people, there the Catholics were altogether untractable; nor could the church either with safety or with honour abolish its ancient institutions. All the articles relative to the power of the Pope, the authority of councils, the administration of the sacraments, the worship of saints, and many other particulars did not, in their nature, admit of any temperament; so that after labouring long to bring about an accommodation with respect to these, the Emperor found all his endeavours ineffectual. Being impatient, however, to close the diet, he at last prevailed on a majority of the members

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Recess of the diet of Ratisbon in favour of a general council. July 28.

to approve of the following recess; "That the articles concerning which the divines had agreed in the conference, should be held as points decided, and be observed inviolably by all; that the other articles about which they had differed, should be referred to the determination of a general council, or if that could not be obtained, to a national synod of Germany; and if it should prove impracticable, likewise, to assemble a synod, that a general diet of the Empire should be called within eighteen months, in order to give some final judgment upon the whole controversy; that the Emperor should use all his interest and authority with the Pope, to procure the meeting either of a general council or synod; that, in the mean time, no innovations should be attempted, no endeavours should be employed to gain proselytes; and neither the revenues of the church, nor the rights of the monasteries, should be invaded [f]."

Gives offence both to Papists and Protestants.

ALL the proceedings of this diet, as well as the recess in which they terminated, gave great offence to the Pope. The power which the Germans had assumed, of appointing their own divines to examine and determine matters of controversy, he considered as a very dangerous invasion on his rights; the renewing of their

[f] Sleidan, 267, &c. Pallav. l. iv. c. 11. p. 136. F. Paul, p. 86. Seckend. l. iii. 256.

ancient

ancient propofal concerning a national fynod, which had been fo often rejected by him and his predeceffors, appeared extremely undutiful; but the bare mention of allowing a diet, compofed chiefly of laymen, to pafs judgment with refpect to articles of faith, was deemed no lefs criminal and profane, than the worft of thofe herefies which they feemed zealous to fupprefs. On the other hand, the Proteftants were no lefs diffatiffied with a recefs, that confiderably abridged the liberty which they enjoyed at that time. As they murmured loudly againft it, Charles, unwilling to leave any feeds of difcontent in the Empire, granted them a private declaration, in the moft ample terms, exempting them from whatever they thought oppreffive or injurious in the recefs, and afcertaining to them the full poffeffion of all the privileges which they had ever enjoyed [g].

Charles courts the Proteftants.

EXTRAORDINARY as thefe conceffions may appear, the fituation of the Emperor's affairs at this juncture made it neceffary for him to grant them. He forefaw a rupture with France to be unavoidable, as well as near at hand, and durft not give any fuch caufe of difguft or fear to the Proteftants, as might force them, in felf-defence, to court the protection of the French King,

Affairs of Hungary.

[g] Sleid. 283. Seckend. 366. Dumont Corps Diplom. iv. p. ii. p. 210.

Book VI. 1541. from whom, at present, they were much alienated. The rapid progress of the Turks in Hungary, was a more powerful and present cause of the moderation which Charles discovered. A great revolution had happened in that kingdom; John Zapol Scæpus having chosen, as has been related, rather to possess a tributary kingdom, than to renounce the royal dignity to which he had been accustomed, had, by the assistance of his mighty protector Solyman, wrested from Ferdinand a great part of the country, and left him only the precarious possession of the rest. But being a Prince of pacific qualities, the frequent attempts of Ferdinand, or of his partizans among the Hungarians, to recover what they had lost, gave him great pain; and the necessity, on these occasions, of calling in the Turks, whom he considered and felt to be his masters rather than auxiliaries, was hardly less mortifying. In order, therefore, to avoid these distresses, as well as to secure quiet and leisure for en-
A. D. 1535. joying the arts and amusements in which he delighted, he secretly came to an agreement with his competitor, on this condition; That Ferdinand should acknowledge him as King of Hungary, and leave him, during life, the unmolested possession of that part of the kingdom now in his power; but that, upon his demise, the sole right to the whole should devolve upon Ferdinand.

nand [h]. As John had never been married, and was then far advanced in life, the terms of the contract ſeemed very favourable to Ferdinand. But, ſoon after, ſome of the Hungarian nobles, ſolicitous to prevent a foreigner from aſcending their throne, prevailed on John to put an end to a long celibacy, by marrying Iſabella, the daughter of Sigiſmond, King of Poland. John had the ſatisfaction, before his death, which happened within leſs than a year after his marriage, to ſee a ſon born to inherit his kingdom. To him, without regarding his treaty with Ferdinand, which he conſidered, no doubt, as void, upon an event not foreſeen when it was concluded, he bequeathed his crown; appointing the Queen and George Martinuzzi, biſhop of Waradin, guardians of his ſon, and regents of the kingdom. The greater part of the Hungarians immediately acknowledged the young King, to whom, in memory of the founder of their monarchy, they gave the name of Stephen [i].

Death of the King of Hungary.

Ferdinand, though extremely diſconcerted by this unexpected event, reſolved not to abandon the kingdom which he had acquired by his compact with John. He ſent ambaſſadors to the Queen to claim poſſeſſion, and to offer the province

Ferdinand's efforts to obtain the crown.

[h] Iſtuanhaffii Hiſt. Hung. lib. xii. p. 135.

[i] Jovii Hiſt. lib. xxxix. p. 239. a. &c.

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province of Tranſylvania as a ſettlement for her, ſon, preparing at the ſame time to aſſert his right by force of arms. But John had committed the care of his ſon to perſons, who had too much ſpirit to give up the crown tamely, and who poſſeſſed abilities ſufficient to defend it. The Queen, to all the addreſs peculiar to her own ſex, added a maſculine courage, ambition, and magnanimity. Martinuzzi, who had raiſed himſelf from the loweſt rank in life to his preſent dignity, was one of thoſe extraordinary men, who, by the extent as well as variety of their talents, are fitted to act a ſuperior part in buſtling and factious times. In diſcharging the functions of his eccleſiaſtical office, he put on the ſemblance of an humble and auſtere ſanctity. He diſcovered, in civil tranſactions, induſtry, dexterity and boldneſs. During war he laid aſide the caſſock, and appeared on horſeback with his ſcymitar and buckler, as active, as oſtentatious, and as gallant as any of his countrymen. Amidſt all theſe different and contradictory forms which he could aſſume, an inſatiable deſire of dominion and authority was conſpicuous. From ſuch perſons it was obvious what anſwer Ferdinand had to expect. He ſoon perceived that he muſt depend on arms alone for recovering Hungary. Having levied for this purpoſe a conſiderable body of Germans, whom his partizans among the Hungarians joined with

Character and power of Martinuzzi.

their

their vaſſals, he ordered them to march into that part of the kingdom which adhered to Stephen. Martinuzzi, unable to make head againſt ſuch a powerful army in the field, ſatisfied himſelf with holding out the towns, all of which, eſpecially Buda, the place of greateſt conſequence, he provided with every thing neceſſary for defence; and in the mean time he ſent ambaſſadors to Solyman, beſeeching him to extend towards the ſon, the ſame Imperial protection which had ſo long maintained the father on his throne. The Sultan, though Ferdinand uſed his utmoſt endeavours to thwart this negociation, and even offered to accept of the Hungarian crown on the ſame ignominious condition of paying tribute to the Ottoman Porte, by which John had held it, ſaw ſuch proſpects of advantage from eſpouſing the intereſt of the young King, that he inſtantly promiſed him his protection; and commanding one army to advance forthwith towards Hungary, he himſelf followed with another. Meanwhile the Germans, hoping to terminate the war by the reduction of a city in which the King and his mother were ſhut up, had formed the ſiege of Buda. Martinuzzi, having drawn thither the ſtrength of the Hungarian nobility, defended the town with ſuch courage and ſkill, as allowed the Turkiſh forces time to come up to its relief. They inſtantly attacked

Book VI. 1541.

Calls in the Turks.

Book VI. 1541.

attacked the Germans, weakened by fatigue, diſeaſes and deſertion, and defeated them with great ſlaughter[k].

Solyman's ungenerous conduct.

Solyman ſoon after joined his victorious troops, and being weary of ſo many expenſive expeditions undertaken in defence of dominions which were not his own, or being unable to reſiſt this alluring opportunity of ſeizing a kingdom, while poſſeſſed by an infant, under the guardianſhip of a woman and a prieſt, he allowed intereſted conſiderations to triumph with too much facility over the principles of honour and the ſentiments of humanity. What he planned ungenerouſly, he executed by fraud. Having prevailed on the Queen to ſend her ſon, whom he pretended to be deſirous of ſeeing, into his camp, and having at the ſame time invited the chief of the nobility to an entertainment there, while they, ſuſpecting no treachery, gave themſelves up to the mirth and jollity of the feaſt, a ſelect band of troops by the Sultan's orders ſeized one of the gates of Buda. Being thus maſter of the capital, of the King's perſon and of the leading men among the nobles, he ordered the Queen, together with her ſon, to be conducted to Tranſylvania, which province he allotted to them, and, appointing a Baſha to reſide in Buda

[k] Iſtuanhaffii Hiſt. Hung. lib. xiv. p. 150.

with

with a large body of ſoldiers, annexed Hungary to the Ottoman Empire. The tears and complaints of the unhappy Queen had no influence to change his purpoſe, nor could Martinuzzi either reſiſt his abſolute and uncontroulable command, or prevail on him to recal it [l]. Book VI. 1541.

Before the account of this violent uſurpation reached Ferdinand, he was ſo unlucky as to have diſpatched new ambaſſadors to Solyman with a freſh repreſentation of his right to the crown of Hungary, as well as a renewal of his former overture to hold the kingdom of the Ottoman Porte, and to pay for it an annual tribute. This ill-timed propoſal was rejected with ſcorn. The Sultan elated with ſucceſs, and thinking that he might preſcribe what terms he pleaſed to a Prince who voluntarily proffered conditions ſo unbecoming his own dignity, declared that he would not ſuſpend the operations of war, unleſs Ferdinand inſtantly evacuated all the towns which he ſtill held in Hungary, and conſented to the impoſition of a tribute upon Auſtria, in order to reimburſe the ſums which his preſumptuous invaſion of Hungary had obliged the Ottoman Porte to expend in defence of that kingdom [m]. Ferdinand's overtures to Solyman.

[l] Iſtuanhaffii, lib. xiv. p. 56. Jovii hiſtor. lib. xxxix. p. 2476, &c.

[m] Iſtuanhaffii hiſt. Hung. lib. xiv. p. 158.

Such

Book VI. 1541.

Such was the ſtate of affairs in Hungary. As the unfortunate events there had either happened before the diſſolution of the diet at Ratiſbon, or were dreaded at that time, Charles ſaw the danger of irritating and inflaming the minds of the Germans, while ſuch a formidable enemy was ready to break into the Empire; and perceived that he could not expect any vigorous aſſiſtance either towards the recovery of Hungary, or the defence of the Auſtrian frontier, unleſs he courted and ſatisfied the Proteſtants. By the conceſſions which have been mentioned, he gained this point, and ſuch liberal ſupplies both of men and money were voted for carrying on the war againſt the Turks, as left him under little anxiety about the ſecurity of Germany during next campaign [n].

Emperor viſits Italy.

Immediately upon the concluſion of the diet, the Emperor ſet out for Italy. As he paſſed through Lucca he had a ſhort interview with the Pope, but nothing could be concluded concerning the proper method of compoſing the religious diſputes in Germany, between two Princes, whoſe views and intereſt with regard to that matter were at this juncture ſo oppoſite. The Pope's endeavours to remove the cauſes of diſcord between Charles and Francis, and to

[n] Sleid. 283.

extinguiſh

extinguiſh thoſe mutual animoſities which threatened to break out ſuddenly into open hoſtility, were not more ſucceſsful.

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1541.

His expedition againſt Algiers, and motives of it.

The Emperor's thoughts were bent ſo entirely, at that time, on the great enterprize which he had concerted againſt Algiers, that he liſtened with little attention to the Pope's ſchemes or overtures, and haſtened to join his army and fleet [o].

Algiers ſtill continued in that ſtate of dependance on the Turkiſh empire to which Barbaroſſa had ſubjected it. Ever ſince he, as captain Baſha, commanded the Ottoman fleet, Algiers had been governed by Haſcen-Aga, a renegado eunuch, who, by paſſing through every ſtation in the Corſairs ſervice, had acquired ſuch experience in war, that he was well fitted for a ſtation which required a man of tried and daring courage. Haſcen, in order to ſhew how well he deſerved that dignity, carried on his piratical depredations againſt the Chriſtian States with amazing activity, and out-did, if poſſible, Barbaroſſa himſelf in boldneſs and cruelty. The commerce of the Mediterranean was greatly interrupted by his cruiſers, and ſuch frequent alarms given to the coaſts of Spain, that there was a neceſſity of erecting watch-towers at pro-

[o] Sandov. hiſtor. tom. ii. 298.

per

per diſtances, and of keeping guards conſtantly on foot, in order to deſcry the approach of his ſquadrons, and to protect the inhabitants from their deſcents [p]. Of this the Emperor's ſubjects had long complained, repreſenting it as an enterprize correſponding to his power, and becoming his humanity, to reduce Algiers, which, ſince the conqueſt of Tunis, was the common receptacle of all the free-booters; and to exterminate that lawleſs race, the implacable enemies of the Chriſtian name. Moved partly by their intreaties, and partly allured by the hope of adding to the glory which he had acquired by his laſt expedition into Africa, Charles, before he left Madrid, in his way to the Low-Countries, had iſſued orders both in Spain and Italy to prepare a fleet and army for this purpoſe. No change in circumſtances, ſince that time, could divert him from this reſolution, or prevail on him to turn his arms towards Hungary; though the ſucceſs of the Turks in that country ſeemed more immediately to require his preſence there; though many of his moſt faithful adherents in Germany urged that the defence of the Empire ought to be his firſt and peculiar care; though ſuch as bore him no good-will ridiculed his prepoſterous conduct in flying from an enemy almoſt at hand, that he might go in queſt of

[p] Jovii hiſt. l. xl. p. 266.

a re-

a remote and more ignoble foe. But to attack the Sultan in Hungary, how ſplendid ſoever that meaſure might appear, was an undertaking which exceeded his power, and was not conſiſtent with his intereſt. To draw troops out of Spain or Italy, to march them into a country ſo diſtant as Hungary, to provide the vaſt apparatus neceſſary for tranſporting thither the artillery, ammunition and baggage of a regular army, and to puſh the war in that quarter, where it could not be brought to any iſſue during ſeveral campaigns, were undertakings ſo expenſive and unwieldy as did not correſpond with the low condition of the Emperor's treaſury. While his principal force was thus employed, his dominions in Italy and the Low-Countries muſt have lain open to the French King, who would not have allowed ſuch a favourable opportunity of attacking them to go unimproved. Whereas the African expedition, the preparations for which were already finiſhed, and almoſt the whole expence of it defrayed, would depend upon a ſingle effort, and beſides the ſecurity and ſatiſfaction which the ſucceſs of it muſt give his ſubjects, would detain him during ſo ſhort a ſpace, that Francis could hardly take advantage of his abſence, to invade his dominions in Europe.

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Book VI. 1541. His preparations.

On all these accounts, Charles adhered to his first plan, and with such determined obstinacy, that he paid no regard to the Pope who advised, or to Andrew Doria who conjured him not to expose his whole armament to almost unavoidable destruction, by venturing at such an advanced season of the year, and while the autumnal winds were so violent, to approach the dangerous coast of Algiers. Having embarked on board Doria's gallies at Porto-Venere in the Genoese territories, he soon found that this experienced sailor had not judged wrong concerning the element with which he was so well acquainted; for such a storm arose that it was with the utmost difficulty and danger he reached Sardinia, the place of general rendezvous. But as his courage was undaunted, and his temper often inflexible, neither the remonstrances of the Pope and Doria, nor the danger to which he had already been exposed by disregarding them, had any other effect than to confirm him in his fatal resolution. The force, indeed, which he had collected was such as might have inspired a Prince less adventrous, and less confident in his own schemes, with the most sanguine hopes of success. It consisted of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, Spaniards, Italians and Germans, mostly veterans, together with three thousand volunteers, the flower of the Spanish

and Italian nobility, fond of paying court to the Emperor by attending him in this favourite expedition, and eager to ſhare in the glory which they believed he was going to reap; to theſe were added a thouſand ſoldiers ſent from Malta by the order of St. John, led by an hundred of its moſt gallant Knights. Book VI. 1541.

The voyage, from Majorca to the African coaſt, was not leſs tedious, or full of hazard, than that which he had juſt finiſhed. When he approached the land, the roll of the ſea, and vehemence of the winds, would not permit the troops to diſembark. But at laſt, the Emperor, ſeizing a favourable opportunity, landed them without oppoſition, not far from Algiers, and immediately advanced towards the town. To oppoſe this mighty army, Haſcen had only eight hundred Turks, and five thouſand Moors, partly natives of Africa, and partly refugees from Granada. He returned, however, a fierce and haughty anſwer when ſummoned to ſurrender. But with ſuch a handful of ſoldiers, neither his deſperate courage, nor conſummate ſkill in war, could have long reſiſted forces ſuperior to to thoſe which had defeated Barbaroſſa at the head of ſixty thouſand men, and which had reduced Tunis, in ſpite of all his endeavours to ſave it. Lands in Africa.

BOOK VI. 1541. The disasters which befell his army;

But, how far soever the Emperor might think himself beyond the reach of any danger from the enemy, he was suddenly exposed to a more dreadful calamity, and one against which human prudence, and human efforts availed nothing. On the second day after his landing, and before he had time for any thing but to disperse some light armed Arabs who molested his troops on their march, the clouds began to gather, and the heavens to appear with a fierce and threatening aspect. Towards evening, rain began to fall, accompanied with violent wind, and the rage of the tempest increasing during the night, the soldiers, who had brought nothing ashore but their arms, remained exposed to all its fury, without tents, or shelter, or cover of any kind. The ground was soon so wet that they could not lie down on it; their camp being in a low situation was overflowed with water, and they sunk at every step to the ankles in mud; while the wind blew with such impetuosity, that, to prevent their falling, they were obliged to thrust their spears into the ground, and to support themselves by taking hold of them. Hascen was too vigilant an officer to allow an enemy in such distress to remain unmolested. About the dawn of morning, he sallied out with soldiers, who, having been screened from the storm under their own roofs, were fresh and vigorous. A body of Italians who were stationed nearest the city, dispirited

and benumbed with cold, fled at the approach of the Turks. The troops at the poſt behind them, diſcovered greater courage, but as the rain had extinguiſhed their matches and wet their powder, their muſkets were uſeleſs, and having ſcarcely ſtrength to handle their other arms, they were ſoon thrown into confuſion. Almoſt the whole army, with the Emperor himſelf in perſon, was obliged to advance, before the enemy could be repulſed, who, after ſpreading ſuch general conſternation, and killing a conſiderable number of men, retired at laſt in good order. Book VI. 1541.

But all feeling or remembrance of this loſs and danger were quickly obliterated by a more dreadful as well as affecting ſpectacle. It was now broad day; the hurricane had abated nothing of its violence, and the ſea appeared agitated with all the rage of which that deſtructive element is capable; all the ſhips, on which alone the whole army knew that their ſafety and ſubſiſtence depended, were ſeen driven from their anchors, ſome daſhing againſt each other, ſome beat to pieces on the rocks, many forced aſhore, and not a few ſinking in the waves. In leſs than an hour, fifteen ſhips of war, and an hundred and forty tranſports with eight thouſand men periſhed; and ſuch of the unhappy crews as eſcaped the fury of the ſea, were murdered without mercy, by the Arabs, as ſoon as they reached land. and fleet.

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land. The Emperor ſtood in ſilent anguiſh and aſtoniſhment beholding this fatal event, which at once blaſted all his hopes of ſucceſs, and buried in the depths the vaſt ſtores which he had provided, as well for annoying the enemy, as for ſubſiſting his own troops. He had it not his power to afford them any other aſſiſtance or relief than by ſending ſome troops to drive away the Arabs, and thus delivering a few who were ſo fortunate as to get aſhore from the cruel fate which their companions had met with. At laſt the wind began to fall, and to give ſome hopes that as many ſhips might eſcape, as to ſave the army from periſhing by famine, and tranſport them back to Europe. But theſe were only hopes; the approach of evening covered the ſea with darkneſs; and it being impoſſible for the officers aboard the ſhips that had outlived the ſtorm, to ſend any intelligence to their companions who were aſhore, they remained during the night in all the anguiſh of ſuſpenſe and uncertainty. Next day, a boat diſpatched by Doria made ſhift to reach land, with information, that having weathered out the ſtorm, to which, during fifty years knowledge of the ſea, he had never ſeen any equal in fierceneſs and horror, he had found it neceſſary to bear away with his ſhattered ſhips to Cape Metafuz. He adviſed the Emperor, as the face of the ſky was ſtill lowering and tempeſtuous, to march with all ſpeed

ſpeed to that place, where the troops could reimbark with greater eaſe.

Book VI.

1541.

Obliged to retreat.

Whatever comfort this intelligence afforded Charles, from being aſſured that part of his fleet had eſcaped, was balanced by the new cares and perplexity in which it involved him with regard to his army. Metafuz was at leaſt three days march from his preſent camp; all the proviſions which he had brought aſhore at his firſt landing were now conſumed; his ſoldiers, worn out with fatigue, were hardly able for ſuch a journey, even in a friendly country; and being diſpirited by a ſucceſſion of hardſhips, which victory itſelf would ſcarce have rendered tolerable, they were in no condition to undergo new toils. But the ſituation of the army was ſuch, as allowed not one moment for deliberation, nor left it in the leaſt doubtful what to chuſe. They were ordered inſtantly to march, the wounded, the ſick and the feeble being placed in the center; ſuch as ſeemed moſt vigorous were ſtationed in the front and rear. Then the ſad effects of what they had ſuffered began to appear more manifeſtly than ever, and new calamities were added to all theſe which they had already endured. Some could ſcarcely bear the weight of their arms; others, ſpent with the toil of forcing their way through deep and almoſt impaſſable roads, ſunk down and

died;

Book VI. 1541.

died; many perished by famine, as the whole army subsisted chiefly on roots and berries, or the flesh of horses, killed by the Emperor's order, and distributed among the several battalions; many were drowned in brooks, which were swoln so much by the excessive rains, that in passing them they waded up to the chin; not a few were killed by the enemy, who, during the greatest part of their retreat, alarmed, harassed and annoyed them night and day. At last they arrived at Metafuz; and the weather being now so calm as to restore their communication with the fleet, they were supplied with plenty of provisions, and cheered with the prospect of safety.

His fortitude of mind.

During this dreadful series of calamities, the Emperor discovered great qualities, many of which an almost uninterrupted flow of prosperity had hitherto afforded him no opportunity of displaying. He appeared conspicuous for firmness and constancy of spirit, for magnanimity, fortitude, humanity, and compassion. He endured as great hardships as the meanest soldier; he exposed his own person wherever danger threatened; he encouraged the desponding; visited the sick and wounded; and animated all by his words and example. When the army embarked, he was among the last who left the shore, although a body of Arabs hovered at no great distance, ready to fall on the rear. By

these virtues, Charles atoned, in some degree, for his obstinacy and presumption in undertaking an expedition so fatal to his subjects. BOOK VI. 1541.

Returns to Europe.

THE calamities which attended this unfortunate enterprize did not end here; for no sooner were the forces got on board, than a new storm arising, though less furious than the former, scattered the fleet, and obliged them, separately, to make towards such ports in Spain or Italy as they could first reach; thus spreading the account of their disasters, with all the circumstances of aggravation and horror, which their fear or fancy suggested. The Emperor himself, after escaping great dangers, and being forced into the port of Bugia in Africa, where he was obliged by contrary winds to remain several weeks, arrived at last in Spain, in a condition very different from that in which he had returned from his former expedition against the Infidels [z].

Decem. 2.

[z] Carol. v. Expeditio ad Argyriam per Nicolaum Villagnonem Equitem Rhodium ap. Scardium, v. ii. 365. Jovii Hist. l. xl. p. 269, &c. Vera y Zuniga vida de Carlos V. p. 83. Sandov. Histor. ii. 299, &c.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK VII.

Book VII. 1541. Renewal of hostilities by Francis, and his motives for it.

THE calamities which the Emperor suffered in his unfortunate enterprize against Algiers were great; and the account of these, which augmented in proportion as it spread at a greater distance from the scene of his disasters, encouraged Francis to begin hostilities, on which he had been for some time resolved. But he did not think it prudent to produce, as the motives of this resolution, either his ancient pretensions to the dutchy of Milan, or the Emperor's disingenuity in violating his repeated promises with regard to the restitution of

of that country. The former might have been a good reafon againft concluding the truce of Nice, but was none for breaking it; the latter could not be urged without expofing his own credulity as much as the Emperor's want of integrity. A violent and unwarrantable action of one of the Imperial generals, furnifhed him with a reafon to juftify his taking arms, which was of greater weight than either of thefe, and fuch as would have rouzed him, if he had been as defirous of peace as he was eager for war. Francis, by figning the treaty of truce at Nice, without confulting Solyman, gave (as he forefaw) great offence to that haughty Monarch, who confidered an alliance with him as an honour of which a Chriftian prince had caufe to be proud. The French King's friendly interview with the Emperor in Provence, followed by fuch extraordinary appearances of union and confidence as accompanied Charles's reception in France, induced the Sultan to fufpect that the two rivals had at laft forgotten their ancient enmity, in order that they might form fuch a general confederacy againft the Ottoman power, as had been long wifhed-for in Chriftendom and often attempted in vain. Charles, with his ufual art, endeavoured to confirm and ftrengthen thefe fufpicions, by inftructing his emiffaries at Conftantinople, as well as in thofe courts with which Solyman held any intelligence, to reprefent

BOOK VII. 1541.

ſent the concord between him and Francis to be ſo entire, that their ſentiments, views and purſuits, would be the ſame for the future[a]. It was not without difficulty that Francis effaced theſe impreſſions; but the addreſs of Rincon, the French ambaſſador at the Porte, together with the manifeſt advantage of carrying on hoſtilities againſt the houſe of Auſtria in concert with France, prevailed at length on the Sultan to enter into a cloſer conjunction with Francis than ever. Rincon returned into France, in order to communicate to his maſter a ſcheme of the Sultan's, for gaining the concurrence of the Venetians in their operations againſt the common enemy. Solyman having lately concluded a peace with that republic, to which the mediation of Francis, and the good offices of Rincon had greatly contributed, thought it not impoſſible to allure the ſenate by ſuch advantages, as, together with the example of the French Monarch, might overbalance any ſcruples ariſing either from decency or caution that could operate on the other ſide. Francis, warmly approving of this meaſure, diſpatched Rincon back to Conſtantinople, and, directing him to go by Venice along with Fregoſo, a Genoeſe exile, whom he appointed his ambaſſador to that republic, empowered them to negociate the mat-

The murder of his ambaſſadors his pretext for this.

[a] Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. p. 502.

ter

ter with the ſenate, to whom Solyman had ſent an envoy for the ſame purpoſe [b]. The marquis del Guaſtò, governor of the Milaneſe, an officer of great abilities, but capable of attempting and executing the moſt atrocious actions, got intelligence of the motions and deſtination of theſe ambaſſadors. As he knew how much his maſter wiſhed to diſcover the intentions of the French King, and of what conſequence it was to retard the execution of his meaſures, he employed ſome ſoldiers belonging to the garriſon of Pavia to lie in wait for Rincon and Fregoſo as they ſailed down the Po, who murdered them and moſt of their attendants, and ſeized their papers. Upon receiving an account of this barbarous outrage, committed, during the ſubſiſtence of truce, againſt perſons held ſacred by the moſt uncivilized nations, Francis's grief for the unhappy fate of two ſervants whom he loved and truſted, his uneaſineſs at the interruption of his ſchemes by their death, and every other paſſion, were ſwallowed up and loſt in the indignation which this inſult on the honour of his crown excited. He exclaimed loudly againſt Guaſto, who, having drawn upon himſelf all the infamy of aſſaſſination without making any diſcovery of importance, as the ambaſſadors had left their in-

Book VII. 1541.

[b] Hiſt. de Venet. de Purata, iv. 125.

ſtructions

Book VII. 1541. ſtructions and other papers of conſequence behind them, now boldly denied his being acceſſary in any wiſe to the crime. He ſent an ambaſſador to the Emperor, to demand ſuitable reparation for an indignity, which no prince, how inconſiderable ſoever or puſillanimous, could tamely endure: And when Charles, impatient at that time to ſet out on his African expedition, endeavoured to put him off with an evaſive anſwer, he appealed to all the courts in Europe, ſetting forth the heinouſneſs of the injury, the ſpirit of moderation with which he had applied for redreſs, and the iniquity of the Emperor in diſregarding this juſt requeſt.

Notwithstanding the confidence with which Guaſto aſſerted his own innocence, the accuſations of the French gained greater credit than all his proteſtations; and Bellay, the French commander in Piedmont, procured, at length, by his induſtry and addreſs, ſuch a minute detail of the tranſaction, with the teſtimony of ſo many of the parties concerned, as amounted almoſt to a legal proof of the marquis's guilt. In conſequence of this opinion of the public, confirmed by ſuch ſtrong evidence, Francis's complaints were univerſally allowed to be well founded, and the ſteps which he took towards renewing hoſtilities, were aſcribed not merely to ambition or

or resentment, but to the unavoidable necessity of vindicating the honour of his crown [c]. Book VII. 1541.

But how just soever Francis might esteem his own cause, he did not trust so much to that, as to neglect the proper precautions for gaining other allies besides the Sultan, by whose aid he might counterbalance the Emperor's superior power. But his negociations to this effect were attended with very little success. Henry VIII. more and more bent upon schemes against Scotland, which he knew would at once dissolve his union with France, was inclinable rather to take part with the Emperor, than to contribute in any degree towards favouring the operations against him. The Pope adhered inviolably to his ancient system of neutrality. The Venetians, notwithstanding Solyman's solicitations, imitated the Pope's example. The Germans, satisfied with the religious liberty which they enjoyed, found it more their interest to gratify than to irritate the Emperor; so that the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, who on this occasion were first drawn in to interest themselves in the quarrels of the more potent Monarchs of the south, and the duke of Cleves, who had a dispute with the Emperor about the possession of Gueldres, were the only confederates Francis secured. But

[c] Bellay, 367, &c. Jovii Hist. lib. xl. 268.

Book VII. 1541. the dominions of the two former lay at ſuch a diſtance, and the power of the latter was ſo inconſiderable, that he gained little by their alliance.

Francis's induſtry in preparing for war.

Francis, however, ſupplied all defects by his own activity. Being afflicted at this time with a diſtemper, the effect of his irregular pleaſures, and which prevented his purſuing them with the ſame licentious indulgence, he applied to buſineſs with more than his uſual induſtry. The ſame cauſe which occaſioned this extraordinary attention to his affairs, rendered him moroſe and diſſatisfied with the miniſters whom he had hitherto employed. This accidental peeviſhneſs of temper being ſharpened by reflecting on the falſe ſteps into which he had lately been betrayed, as well as the inſults to which he had been expoſed, ſome of thoſe in whom he had hitherto placed the greateſt confidence felt the effects of this change in his temper, and were deprived of their offices. At laſt he diſgraced Montmorency himſelf, who had long directed affairs as well civil as military with all the authority of a miniſter no leſs beloved than truſted by his maſter; and Francis being fond of ſhewing that the fall of ſuch a powerful favourite did not affect the vigour or prudence of his adminiſtration, this was a new motive to redouble his diligence in

in preparing to open the war by ſome ſplendid and extraordinary effort. Book VII. 1541.

Francis accordingly brought into the field five armies. One to act in Luxembourg under the duke of Orleans, accompanied by the duke of Lorraine as his inſtructor in the art of war. Another commanded by the dauphin marched towards the frontiers of Spain. A third led by Van Roſſem the marſhal of Gueldres, and compoſed chiefly of the troops of Cleves, had Brabant allotted for the theatre of its operations. A fourth, of which the duke of Vendome was general, hovered on the borders of Flanders. The laſt, conſiſting of the forces cantoned in Piedmont, was deſtined for the admiral Annibaut. The dauphin and his brother were appointed to command where the chief exertion was intended, and the greateſt honour to be reaped; the army of the former amounted to forty thouſand, that of the latter to thirty thouſand men. Nothing appears more ſurprizing than that Francis did not pour with theſe numerous and irreſiſtible armies into the Milaneſe, which had ſo long been the object of his wiſhes as well as enterprizes; and that he ſhould chuſe rather to turn almoſt his whole ſtrength into another direction, and towards new conqueſts. But the remembrance of the diſaſters which he had met with in his former expeditions into Italy, together with the difficulty

1542. He brings five armies into the field.

BOOK VII. 1542. difficulty of ſupporting a war carried on at ſuch a diſtance from his own dominions, had gradually abated his violent inclination to obtain footing in that country, and made him willing to try the fortune of his arms in another quarter. At the ſame time he expected to make ſuch a powerful impreſſion on the frontier of Spain, where there were few towns of any ſtrength, and no army aſſembled to oppoſe him, as might enable him to recover poſſeſſion of the county of Rouſillon, lately diſmembered from the French crown, before Charles could bring into the field any force able to obſtruct his progreſs. The neceſſity of ſupporting his ally the duke of Cleves, and the hope of drawing a conſiderable body of ſoldiers out of Germany by his means, determined him to act with vigour in the Low-Countries.

June. Their operations. THE dauphin and duke of Orleans opened the campaign much about the ſame time; the former laying ſiege to Perpignan the capital of Rouſillon, and the latter entering Luxembourg. The duke of Orleans puſhed his operations with the greateſt rapidity and ſucceſs, one town falling after another, until no place in that large dutchy remained in the Emperor's hands but Thionville. Nor could he have failed of over-running the adjacent provinces with the ſame eaſe, if he had not voluntarily ſtopt ſhort in this

career of victory. But a report prevailing that the Emperor had determined to hazard a battle in order to save Perpignan, on a sudden the duke, prompted by youthful ardour, or moved, perhaps, by jealousy of his brother, whom he both envied and hated, abandoned his own conquests, and hastened towards Rousillon, in order to divide with him the glory of the victory. BOOK VII. 1542.

On his departure some of his troops were disbanded, others deserted their colours, and the rest, cantoned in the towns which he had taken, remained inactive. By this conduct, which leaves a dishonourable imputation either on his understanding or his heart, or on both, he not only renounced whatever he could have hoped from such a promising commencement of the campaign, but gave the enemy an opportunity of recovering, before the end of summer, all the conquests which he had gained. On the Spanish frontier, the Emperor was not so inconsiderate as to venture on a battle, the loss of which might have endangered his kingdom. Perpignan, though poorly fortified, and briskly attacked, having been largely supplied with ammunition and provisions by the vigilance of Doria [d], was defended so long and so vigorously by the duke of Alva, the persevering obstinacy

[d] Sigonii Vita A. Doriæ, p. 1191.

BOOK VII. 1542. of whose temper fitted him admirably for such service, that at last the French, after a siege of three months, wasted by diseases, repulsed in several assaults, and despairing of success, relinquished the undertaking, and retired into their own country [e]. Thus all Francis's mighty preparations, either from some defect in his own conduct, or from the superior power and prudence of his rival, produced no effects that bore any proportion to his expence and efforts, or such as gratified, in any degree, his own hopes, or answered the expectation of Europe. The only solid advantage of the campaign was the acquisition of a few towns in Piedmont, which Bellay gained rather by stratagem and address, than by the force of his arms [f].

1543. Preparations for another campaign.

MEANWHILE the Emperor and Francis, though both considerably exhausted by such great but indecisive efforts, discovering no abatement of their mutual animosity, employed all their attention, tried every expedient, and turned themselves towards every quarter, in order to acquire new allies, together with such a reinforcement of strength as would give them the superiority in the ensuing campaign. Charles, taking advantage of the terror and resentment of

[e] Sandov. Hist. tom. ii. 315.

[f] Sandov. Hist. ii. 318. Bellay, 387, &c. Ferrer. ix. 237.

the

the Spaniards, upon the ſudden invaſion of their country, prevailed on the Cortes of the ſeveral kingdoms to grant him ſubſidies with a more liberal hand than uſual. At the ſame time, he borrowed a large ſum from John King of Portugal, putting him in poſſeſſion, by way of ſecurity for his being repaid, of the Molucca iſles in the Eaſt Indies, with the gainful commerce of precious ſpices, which that ſequeſtered corner of the globe yields. Not ſatisfied with this, he negociated a marriage between Philip his only ſon, now in his ſixteenth year, and Mary daughter of that Monarch, with whom her father, the moſt opulent prince in Europe, gave a large dower; and having likewiſe perſuaded the Cortes of Aragon and Valencia to recognize Philip as the heir of theſe crowns, he obtained from them the donative uſual on ſuch occaſions[g]. Theſe extraordinary ſupplies enabled him to make ſuch additions to his forces in Spain, that he could detach a great body into the Low-Countries, and yet reſerve as many as were ſufficient for the defence of the kingdom. Having thus provided for the ſecurity of Spain, and committed the government of it to his ſon, he ſailed for Italy, in his way to Germany. But how attentive ſoever to raiſe the funds for carry-

1543.

May.

[g] Ferreras, ix. 238. 241. Jovii Hiſt. lib. xlii. 298. 6.

BOOK VII. 1543. ing on the war, or eager to grafp at any new expedient for that purpofe, he was not fo inconfiderate as to accept of the overture which Paul, knowing his neceffities, artfully threw out to him. That ambitious Pontiff, no lefs fagacious to difcern, than watchful to feize opportunities of aggrandizing his family, folicited him to grant Octavio his grandchild, whom the Emperor had admitted to the honour of being his fon-in-law, the inveftiture of the dutchy of Milan, in return for which he promifed fuch a vaft fum of money as would have gone far towards fupplying his prefent exigencies. But Charles, as well from unwillingnefs to alienate a province of fo much value, as from difguft at the Pope, who had hitherto refufed to join in the war againft Francis, rejected the propofal. His diffatisfaction with Paul at that juncture was fo great, that he even refufed to approve his alienating Parma and Placentia from the patrimony of St. Peter, and fettling them on his own fon and grandfon as a fief to be held of the Holy See. As no other expedient for raifing money among the Italian ftates remained, he confented to withdraw the garrifons which he had hitherto kept in the citadels of Florence and Leghorn; in confideration for which, he received a large prefent from Cofmo di Medici, who by this means fecured his own independence, and got poffeffion

of

of two forts, which were juftly called the fetters of Tufcany [h]. Book VII. 1543.

But Charles, while he feemed to have turned his whole attention towards raifing the fums neceffary for defraying the expences of the year, had not been negligent of objects more diftant, though no lefs important, and had concluded a league offenfive and defenfive with Henry VIII. from which he derived, in the end, greater advantage than from all his other preparations. Several flight circumftances, which have already been mentioned, had begun to alienate the affections of that Monarch from Francis his prefent ally, and new incidents of greater moment had occurred to increafe his difguft and animofity. Henry, defirous of eftablifhing an uniformity in religion in Great Britain, as well as fond of making profelytes to his own opinions, had formed a fcheme of perfuading his nephew the King of Scotland to renounce the Pope's fupremacy, and to adopt the fame fyftem of reformation which he had introduced into England. This meafure he purfued with his ufual eagernefs and impetuofity, making fuch advantageous overtures to James, whom he confidered as not over fcrupuloufly attached to any religious

The Emperor's negociations with Henry VIII.

Henry's rupture with France and Scotland.

[h] Adriani Iftoria, i. 195. Sleid. 312. Jovii Hift. lib. xliii. p. 301. Vita di Cof. Medici di Baldini, p. 34.

Book VII. 1543. tenets, that he hardly doubted of ſucceſs. His propoſitions were accordingly received in ſuch a manner that he flattered himſelf with having gained his point. But the Scottiſh eccleſiaſtics, foreſeeing the ruin of the church to be the conſequence of the King's union with England; and the partizans of France, no leſs convinced that it would put an end to the influence of that crown upon the public councils of Scotland, combined together, and by their inſinuations defeated Henry's ſcheme at the very moment when he expected it to have taken effect. Too haughty to brook ſuch a diſappointment, which he imputed as much to the arts of the French as to the levity of the Scottiſh Monarch, he took arms againſt Scotland, threatening to ſubdue the kingdom, ſince he could not gain the friendſhip of its King. At the ſame time, his reſentment at Francis quickened his negociations with the Emperor, an alliance with whom he was now as forward to accept as the other could be to offer it. During this war with Scotland, and before the concluſion of his negociations with Charles, James V. died, leaving his crown to Mary his only daughter, an infant a few days old. Upon this event, Henry altered at once his whole ſyſtem with regard to Scotland, and abandoning all thoughts of conquering it, aimed at what was more advantageous as well as practicable, an union with that kingdom by a marriage

between

between Edward his only ſon and the young Queen. But here, too, he apprehended a vigorous oppoſition from the French faction in Scotland, which began to beſtir itſelf in order to thwart the meaſure. The neceſſity of cruſhing this party among the Scots, and of preventing Francis from furniſhing them any effectual aid, confirmed Henry's reſolution of breaking with France, and puſhed him on to put a finiſhing hand to the treaty of confederacy with the Emperor.

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In this league were contained firſt of all, articles for ſecuring their future amity and mutual defence; then were enumerated the demands which they were reſpectively to make upon Francis; and the plan of their operations was fixed, if he ſhould refuſe to grant them ſatiſfaction. They agreed to require, that Francis ſhould not only renounce his alliance with Solyman, which had been the ſource of infinite calamities to Chriſtendom, but alſo that he ſhould make reparation for the damages which that unnatural union had occaſioned; that he ſhould reſtore Burgundy to the Emperor; that he ſhould deſiſt immediately from hoſtilities, and leave Charles at leiſure to oppoſe the common enemy of the Chriſtian faith; and that he ſhould immediately pay the ſums due to Henry, or put ſome towns in his hands as ſecurity to that effect.

Feb. 11. Alliance between Charles and Henry.

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effect. If, within forty days, he did not comply with these demands, they then engaged to invade France each with twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and not to lay down their arms until they had recovered Burgundy, together with the towns on the Somme, for the Emperor, and Normandy and Guienne, or even the whole realm of France, for Henry [i]. Their heralds, accordingly, set out with these haughty requisitions; but not being permitted to enter France, could not perform their commission, and the two Monarchs held themselves fully entitled to execute whatever was stipulated in their treaty.

Francis's negociations with Solyman.

FRANCIS on his part was not less diligent in preparing for the approaching campaign. Having early observed the symptoms of Henry's disgust and alienation, and finding all his endeavours to sooth and reconcile him ineffectual, he knew his temper too well not to expect that open hostilities would quickly follow upon this cessation of friendship. For this reason he redoubled his endeavours to obtain from Solyman such aid as might counterbalance the great accession of strength which the Emperor would receive by his alliance with England. In order to supply the place of the two ambassadors who had been

[i] Rym. xiv. 768. Herb. 238.

murdered

murdered by Guasto, he sent as his envoy, first Book VII. to Venice, and then to Constantinople, Paulin, 1543. a captain of foot, a man of a daring active spirit, and on account of these qualities thought worthy of this service, to which he was recommended by Bellay, who had trained him to the arts of negociation, and made trial of his talents and address on several occasions. Nor did he belie the opinion conceived of his courage and abilities. Hastening to Constantinople, without regarding the dangers to which he was exposed, he urged his master's demands with such boldness, and availed himself of every circumstance with such dexterity, that quickly he removed all the Sultan's difficulties. As some of the Bashaws, swayed either by their own opinion, or influenced by the Emperor's emissaries, who had made their way even into this court, had declared in the Divan against acting in concert with France, he found means either to convince or silence them [k]. At last he obtained orders for Barbarossa to sail with a powerful fleet, and to regulate all his operations by the directions of the French King. Francis was not equally successful in his attempts to gain the princes of the Empire. The extraordinary rigour with which he thought it necessary to punish such of his

[k] Sandov. Histor. tom. ii. 346. Jovii Hist. lib. xli. 285, &c. 300, &c. Brantome.

subjects

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ſubjects as had embraced the proteſtant opinions, in order to give ſome notable evidence of his own zeal for the Catholic faith, and to wipe off the imputations to which he was liable from his confederacy with the Turks, placed an inſuperable barrier between him and ſuch of the Germans as intereſt or inclination would have prompted moſt readily to join him[1]. His chief advantage, however, over the Emperor, he derived on this, as on other occaſions, from the contiguity of his dominions, as well as from the extent of the royal authority in France, which exempted him from all the delays and diſappointments unavoidable wherever popular aſſemblies provide for the expences of government by occaſional and frugal ſubſidies. Hence his domeſtic preparations were always carried on with vigour and rapidity, while thoſe of the Emperor, unleſs when quickened by ſome foreign ſupply, or ſome temporary expedient, were to the laſt degree ſlow and dilatory.

Operations in the Low-Countries.

LONG before any army was in readineſs to oppoſe him, Francis took the field in the Low-Countries, againſt which he turned the whole weight of the war. He made himſelf maſter of Landrecy, which he determined to keep as the key to the whole province of Hainault; and ordered it to be fortified with great care. Turning

[1] Seck. lib. iii. 403.

1543.

from thence to the right, he entered the dutchy of Luxembourg, and found it in the ſame defenceleſs ſtate as in the former year. Meanwhile, the Emperor, having drawn together an army, compoſed of all the different nations ſubject to his government, entered the territories of the Duke of Cleves, on whom he had vowed to inflict exemplary vengeance. This prince, whoſe conduct and ſituation were ſimilar to that of Robert de la Mark in the firſt war between Charles and Francis, reſembled him likewiſe in his fate. Unable, with his feeble army, to face the Emperor, who advanced at the head of forty-four thouſand men, he retired at his approach; and the Imperialiſts being at liberty to act as they pleaſed, immediately inveſted Duren. That town, though gallantly defended, was won by aſſault, all the inhabitants put to the ſword, and the place itſelf reduced to aſhes. This dreadful example of ſeverity ſtruck the people of the country with ſuch general terror, that all the other towns, even ſuch as were capable of reſiſtance, ſent their keys to the Emperor; and before a body of French detached to his aſſiſtance could come up, the duke himſelf was obliged to make his ſubmiſſion to Charles in the moſt abject manner. Being admitted into the Imperial preſence, he kneeled, together with eight of his principal ſubjects, and implored mercy. The Emperor allowed him to remain in that ignominious poſture,

The Emperor becomes maſter of the Dutchy of Cleves. Auguſt 24.

Book VII. 1543. posture, and eyeing him with an haughty and implacable look, without deigning to answer a single word, remitted him to his ministers. The conditions, however, which they prescribed were not so rigorous as he had reason to have expected after such a reception. Sept. 7. He was obliged to renounce his alliance with France and Denmark; to resign all his pretensions to the dutchy of Gueldres; to enter into perpetual amity with the Emperor and King of the Romans. In return for which, all his hereditary dominions were restored, except two towns which the Emperor kept as pledges of his fidelity during the continuance of the war, and he was re-instated in his privileges as a prince of the Empire. Not long after, Charles, as a proof of the sincerity of his reconcilement, gave him in marriage one of the daughters of his brother Ferdinand [m].

Besieges Landrecy.

HAVING thus chastised the presumption of the Duke of Cleves, detached one of his allies from Francis, and added to his dominions in the Low-Countries a considerable province which lay contiguous to them, Charles advanced towards Hainault, and laid siege to Landrecy. There, as the first-fruits of his alliance with Henry, he was joined by six thousand English

[m] Haræi Annal. Brabant, t. i. 628. Recueil des Traitez, t. ii. 226.

under

under Sir John Wallop. The garrifon, confift- ing of veteran troops commanded by De la Lande and Deffé, two officers of reputation, made a vigorous refiftance. Francis approached with all his forces to relieve the place; Charles covered the fiege; both were determined to hazard an engagement; and all Europe expect- ed to fee this conteft, which had continued fo long, decided at laft by a battle between two great armies, led by their refpective Monarchs in perfon. But the ground which feparated their two camps was fuch, as put the difadvantage manifeftly on his fide who fhould venture to at- tack, and neither of them chofe to run that rifque. Amidft a variety of movements, in or- der to draw the enemy into this fnare, or to avoid it themfelves, Francis, with admirable conduct, and equal good fortune, threw firft a fupply of frefh troops, and then a convoy of provifions into the town, fo that the Emperor, defpairing of fuccefs, withdrew into winter-quar- ters [n], in order to preferve his army from being entirely ruined by the rigour of the feafon.

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MEANWHILE, Solyman fulfilled his engage- ments to the French King with great punctua- lity. He himfelf marched into Hungary with a numerous army; and as the princes of the Em-

November. Solyman invades Hungary.

[n] Bellay, 405, &c.

pire

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pire made no great effort to ſave a country which Charles, by employing his whole force againſt Francis, ſeemed willing to ſacrifice, there was no appearance of any body of troops to oppoſe his progreſs. He beſieged, one after another, Quinque Eccleſiæ, Alba and Gran, the three moſt conſiderable towns in the kingdom, of which Ferdinand had kept poſſeſſion. The firſt was taken by ſtorm; the other two ſurrendered; and the whole kingdom, a ſmall corner excepted, was ſubjected to the Turkiſh yoke [o]. About the ſame time, Barbaroſſa ſailed with a fleet of an hundred and ten gallies, and coaſting along the ſhore of Calabria, made a deſcent at Reggio, which he plundered and burnt; and advancing from thence to the mouth of the Tiber, he ſtopt there to water. The citizens of Rome, ignorant of his deſtination, and filled with terror, began to fly with ſuch general precipitation, that the city would have been left deſerted, if they had not reſumed courage upon letters from Paulin the French envoy, aſſuring them that no violence or injury would be offered by the Turks to any ſtate in alliance with the King his maſter [p]. From Oſtia, Barbaroſſa ſailed to Marſeilles, and being joined by the French fleet with a body of land forces on board, under the count d'En-

Barbaroſſa's deſcent on Italy.

[o] Iſtuanhaff. Hiſtor. Hung. l. xv. 167.

[p] Jovii Hiſt. l. xliii, 304, &c. Pallavic. 160.

guien,

guien, a gallant young prince of the house of Bourbon, they directed their course towards Nice, the sole retreat of the unfortunate duke of Savoy. There, to the astonishment and scandal of all Christendom, the Lilies of France and Crescent of Mahomet appeared in conjunction against a fortress on which the Cross of Savoy was displayed. The town, however, was bravely defended against their combined force by Montfort a Savoyard gentleman, who stood a general assault, and repulsed the enemy with great loss, before he retired into the castle. That fort situated upon a rock, on which the artillery made no impression, and which could not be undermined, he held out so long, that Doria had time to approach with his fleet, and the marquis del Guasto to march with a body of troops from Milan. Upon intelligence of this, the French and Turks raised the siege[q]; and Francis had not even the consolation of success, to render the infamy, which he drew on himself by calling in such an auxiliary, more tolerable.

BOOK VII. 1543. August 10. Sept. 8.

Preparations for a new campaign.

FROM the small progress of either party during this campaign, it was obvious to what a length the war might be drawn out between two princes, whose power was so equally balanced,

[q] Guichenon histoire de Savoye, t. i. p. 651. Bellay, 425, &c.

Book VII. 1543. and who, by their own talents or activity, could so vary and multiply their resources. The trial which they had now made of each other's strength might have taught them the imprudence of persisting in a war, wherein there was greater appearance of their distressing their own dominions than of conquering those of their adversary, and should have disposed both to wish for peace. If Charles and Francis had been influenced by considerations of interest or prudence alone, this, without doubt, must have been the manner in which they would have reasoned. But the personal animosity, which mingled itself in all their quarrels, had grown to be so violent and implacable, that, for the pleasure of gratifying it, they disregarded every thing else; and were infinitely more solicitous how to hurt their enemy, than how to secure what would be of advantage to themselves. No sooner then did the season force them to suspend hostilities, than, without paying any attention to the Pope's repeated endeavours or paternal exhortations to re-establish peace, they began to provide for the operations of the next year with new vigour, and an activity increasing with their hatred. Charles turned his chief attention towards gaining the princes of the Empire, and endeavoured to rouse the formidable but unwieldy strength of the Germanic body against Francis. In order to understand the propriety of the steps which he took for that purpose,

Affairs of Germany.

purpose, it is necessary to review the chief transactions in that country since the diet of Ratisbon in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-one.

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Much about the time that assembly broke up, Maurice succeeded his father Henry in the government of that part of Saxony which belonged to the Albertine branch of the Saxon family. This young prince, then only in his twentieth year, had, even at that early period, begun to discover the great talents which qualified him for acting such a distinguished part in the affairs of Germany. As soon as he entered upon the administration, he struck out into such a new and singular path, as shewed that he aimed, from the beginning, at something great and uncommon. Though zealously attached to the Protestant opinions both from education and principle, he refused to accede to the league of Smalkalde, being determined, as he said, to maintain the purity of religion which was the original object of that confederacy, but not to entangle himself in the political interests or combinations to which it had given rise. At the same time, foreseeing a rupture between Charles and the confederates of Smalkalde, and perceiving which of them was most likely to prevail in the contest, instead of that jealousy and distrust which the other Protestants expressed of all the

Maurice of Saxony succeeds his father.

The views and conduct of this young Prince.

Emperor's designs, he affected to place in him an unbounded confidence; and courted his favour with the utmost assiduity. When the other Protestants, in the year fifteen hundred and forty-two, either declined assisting Ferdinand in Hungary, or afforded him reluctant and feeble aid, Maurice marched thither in person, and rendered himself conspicuous by his zeal and courage. From the same motive, he had led to the Emperor's assistance, during the last campaign, a body of his own troops; and the gracefulness of his person, his dexterity in all military exercises, together with his intrepidity, which courted and delighted in danger, did not distinguish him more in the field, than his great abilities and insinuating address won upon the Emperor's confidence and favour [r]. While by this conduct, which appeared extraordinary to those who held the same opinions with him concerning religion, Maurice endeavoured to pay court to the Emperor, he began to discover some degree of jealousy of his cousin the Elector of Saxony. This, which proved in the sequel so fatal to the Elector, had almost occasioned an open rupture between them; and soon after Maurice's accession to the government, they both took arms with equal rage, upon account of a dispute about the right of jurisdiction over

[r] Sleid. 317. Seck. l. iii. 371. 386. 428.

a paultry

a paultry town ſituated on the Moldaw. They were prevented, however, from proceeding to action by the mediation of the Landgrave of Heſſe, whoſe daughter Maurice had married, as well as by the powerful and authoritative admonitions of Luther [s]. Book VII. 1543.

Meanwhile the Pope, though extremely irritated at the Emperor's conceſſions to the Proteſtants in the diet of Ratiſbon, was ſo warmly ſolicited on all hands, by ſuch as were moſt devoutly attached to the See of Rome, no leſs than by thoſe whoſe fidelity or deſigns he ſuſpected, to ſummon a general council, that he found it impoſſible to avoid any longer calling that aſſembly. The impatience for its meeting, and the expectations of great effects from its deciſions ſeemed to grow in proportion to the difficulty of obtaining it. He ſtill adhered, however, to his original reſolution of holding it in ſome town of Italy, where, by the number of eccleſiaſtics, retainers to his court, and depending on his favour, who could repair to it without difficulty or expence, he might influence and even direct all its proceedings. This propoſition, though often rejected by the Germans, he inſtructed his nuncio to the diet held at Spires, in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-two, to renew once more; and if he found

The Pope propoſes to hold a general council at Trent.

March 3.

[s] Sleid. 292. Seck. l. iii. 403.

it

BOOK VII. 1543. it gave no greater satisfaction than formerly, he empowered him, as a last concession, to propose for the place of meeting, Trent, a city in the Tyrol, subject to the King of the Romans, and situated on the confines between Germany and Italy. The Catholic princes in the diet, after giving it as their opinion that the council might have been held with greater advantage in Ratisbon, Cologne, or some of the great cities in the Empire, approved of the place which the Pope had named. The Protestants unanimously expressed their dissatisfaction, and protested that they would pay no regard to a council held without the precincts of the Empire, called by the Pope's authority, and in which he assumed the right of presiding[t].

May 22. 1542. Summons it to meet. THE Pope, without taking any notice of their objections, published the bull of intimation, named three cardinals to preside as his legates, and appointed them to repair to Trent before the first of November, the day he had fixed for opening the council. But if Paul had desired the meeting of a council as sincerely as he pretended, he would not have pitched on such an improper time for calling it. Instead of that general union and tranquillity, without which the deliberations of a council could neither be

[t] Sleid. 291. Seck. l. iii. 283.

conducted

conducted with ſecurity, nor attended with authority, ſuch a fierce war was juſt kindled between the Emperor and Francis, as rendered it impoſſible for the eccleſiaſtics from many parts of Europe to reſort thither in ſafety. The legates, accordingly, remained ſeveral months at Trent; but as no perſon appeared there, except a few prelates from the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, the Pope, in order to avoid the ridicule and contempt which this drew upon him from the enemies of the church, recalled them and prorogued the council [u].

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Obliged to prorogue it.

The Emperor courts the Proteſtants.

Unhappily for the authority of the papal ſee, at the very time that the German Proteſtants took every occaſion of pouring contempt upon it, the Emperor and King of the Romans found it neceſſary not only to connive at their conduct, but to court their favour by repeated acts of indulgence. In the ſame diet of Spires, wherein they had proteſted in the moſt diſreſpectful terms againſt aſſembling a council at Trent, Ferdinand, who depended on their aid for the defence of Hungary, not only permitted that proteſtation to be inſerted in the records of the diet, but renewed in their favour all the Emperor's conceſſions at Ratiſbon, adding to them whatever they demanded for their farther

[u] F. Paul. p. 97. Sleid. 296.

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ſecurity. Among other particulars, he granted a ſuſpenſion of a decree of the Imperial chamber againſt the city of Goſlar, one of thoſe which had entered into the league of Smalkalde, on account of its having ſeized the eccleſiaſtical revenues within its domains, and enjoined Henry duke of Brunſwick to deſiſt from his attempts to carry that decree into execution. But Henry, a furious bigot, and no leſs obſtinate than raſh in all his undertakings, continuing to diſquiet the people of Goſlar by his incurſions, the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heſſe, that they might not ſuffer any member of the Smalkaldic body to be oppreſſed, aſſembled their forces, declared war in form againſt Henry, and in the ſpace of a few weeks, ſtripping him entirely of his dominions, drove him as a wretched exile to take refuge in the court of Bavaria. By this act of vengeance, no leſs ſevere than ſudden, they filled all Germany with dread of their power, and the confederates of Smalkalde appeared, by this firſt effort of their arms, to be as prompt as capable to protect thoſe who had joined their aſſociation [x].

Their vigorous proceedings.

EMBOLDENED by ſo many conceſſions in their favour, as well as by the progreſs which their

[x] Sleid. 296. Commemoratio ſuccincta cauſarum Belli, &c. a Smalcadicis contra Henr. Brunſw. ab iiſdem edita; ap. Scardium. Tom. ii. 307.

4 opinions

opinions daily made, the princes of the league of Smalkalde took a ſolemn proteſt againſt the Imperial chamber, and declined its juriſdiction for the future, becauſe that court had not been viſited or reformed according to the decree of Ratiſbon, and continued to diſcover a moſt indecent partiality in all its proceedings. Not long after this, they ventured a ſtep farther; and proteſting againſt the receſs of a diet held at Nuremberg, which provided for the defence of Hungary, refuſed to furniſh their contingent for that purpoſe, unleſs the Imperial chamber were reformed, and full ſecurity were granted them in every point with regard to religion [y].

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April 23. 1543.

SUCH were the lengths to which the Proteſtants had proceeded, and ſuch their confidence in their own power, when the Emperor returned from the Low-Countries, to hold a diet, which he had ſummoned to meet at Spires. The reſpect due to the Emperor, as well as the importance of the affairs which were to be laid before it, rendered this aſſembly extremely full. All the Electors, a great number of princes eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, with the deputies of moſt of the cities were preſent. Charles ſoon perceived that this was not a time to offend the jealous ſpirit of the Proteſtants, by aſſerting in any

Diet at Spires. 1544.

[y] Sleid. 304. 307. Seck. l. iii. 404. 416.

high

Book VII. 1544.

high tone the authority and doctrines of the church, or by abridging, in the smallest article, the liberty which they now enjoyed; but that, on the contrary, if he expected any support from them, or wished to preserve Germany from intestine disorders while he was engaged in a foreign war, he must sooth them by new concessions, and a more ample extension of their religious privileges. He began, accordingly, with courting the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse, the heads of the Protestant party, and by giving up some things in their favour, and granting liberal promises with regard to others, he secured himself from any danger of opposition on their part. Having ascertained this capital point, he then ventured to address the diet with greater freedom. He began by representing his own zeal, and unwearied efforts with regard to two things most essential to Christendom, the procuring of a general council in order to compose the religious dissensions which had unhappily arisen in Germany, and the providing some proper means for checking the formidable progress of the Turkish arms. But that his pious endeavours had been entirely defeated by the unjustifiable ambition of the French King, who having wantonly kindled the flame of war in Europe, which had been so lately extinguished by the truce of Nice, rendered it impossible for the fathers of the church to assemble in council;

The Emperor solicits its aid against France.

or

or to deliberate with ſecurity; and obliged him to employ thoſe forces in his own defence, which, with greater ſatisfaction to himſelf, as well as more honour to Chriſtendom, he would have turned againſt the Infidels. That Francis not thinking it enough to have called him off from oppoſing the Infidels, had, with unexampled impiety, invited them into the heart of Chriſtendom, and, joining his arms to theirs, had openly attacked the duke of Savoy a member of the Empire. That Barbaroſſa's fleet was now in one of the ports of France; waiting only the return of ſpring to carry terror and deſolation to the coaſt of ſome Chriſtian ſtate. That in ſuch a ſituation it was folly to think of diſtant expeditions againſt the Turk, or of marching to oppoſe his armies in Hungary, while ſuch a powerful ally received him into the center of Europe, and gave him footing there. That prudence dictated to oppoſe the neareſt and moſt imminent danger, firſt of all, and by humbling the power of France, to deprive Solyman of the advantages, which he derived from the unnatural confederacy formed between him and a Monarch, who ſtill arrogated the name of Moſt Chriſtian. That, in truth, a war againſt the French King and the Sultan ought to be conſidered as the ſame thing; and that every advantage gained over the former, was a ſevere and ſenſible blow to the latter. That, therefore,

Book VII. 1544. fore, he now demanded their aid againſt Francis, not merely as an enemy of the Germanic body, or of him who was its head, but as an avowed ally of the Infidels, and a public enemy to the Chriſtian name.

In order to give greater weight to this violent invective of the Emperor, the King of the Romans ſtood up, and related the rapid conqueſts of the Sultan in Hungary, occaſioned, as he ſaid, by the fatal neceſſity impoſed on his brother of employing his arms againſt France. When he had finiſhed, the ambaſſadors of Savoy gave a detail of Barbaroſſa's operations at Nice, and of the ravages which he had committed on that coaſt. All theſe, added to the general indignation which Francis's unprecedented union with the Turks excited in Europe, made ſuch an impreſſion on the diet as the Emperor wiſhed, and diſpoſed moſt of the members to grant him ſuch effectual aid as he had demanded. The ambaſſadors whom Francis had ſent to explain the motives of his conduct, were not permitted to enter the bounds of the Empire; and the apology which they publiſhed for their maſter, vindicating his alliance with Solyman, by examples drawn from ſcripture, and the practice of Chriſtian princes, was little regarded by men, irritated already or prejudiced againſt him to ſuch a degree, as to be incapable of allowing their

their proper weight to any arguments in his behalf. BOOK VII. 1544.

SUCH being the favourable disposition of the Germans, Charles perceived that nothing could now obstruct his gaining all that he aimed at, but the fears and jealousies of the Protestants, which he determined to quiet by granting every thing that the utmost solicitude of these passions could desire for the security of their religion. With this view, he consented to a recess, whereby all the rigorous edicts hitherto issued against the Protestants were suspended; a council either general or national to be assembled in Germany was declared necessary, in order to re-establish peace in the church; until one of these should be held, (which the Emperor undertook to bring about as soon as possible) the free and public exercise of the Protestant religion was authorized; the Imperial chamber was to give no molestation to the Protestants; and when the term, for which the present judges in that court were elected, should expire, persons duly qualified were then to be admitted as members, without any distinction on account of religion. In return for these extraordinary acts of indulgence, the Protestants concurred with the other members of the diet, in declaring war against Francis in name of the Empire; in voting the Emperor a body of twenty-four thousand foot, and four

His vast concessions in order to gain the Protestants;

And granted by the diet,

four thouſand horſe, to be maintained at the public expence for ſix months, and to be employed againſt France; and at the ſame time the diet impoſed a poll-tax to be levied throughout all Germany on every perſon without exception, for the ſupport of the war againſt the Turks.

Charles's negociations with Denmark and England.

CHARLES, while he gave the greateſt attention to the minute and intricate detail of particulars neceſſary towards conducting the deliberations of a numerous and divided aſſembly to ſuch a ſucceſsful period, negociated a ſeparate peace with the King of Denmark; who, though he had hitherto performed nothing conſiderable in conſequence of his alliance with Francis, had it in his power, however, to make a formidable diverſion in favour of that monarch [z]. At the ſame time, he did not neglect proper applications to the King of England, in order to rouze him to more vigorous efforts againſt their common enemy. Little, indeed, was wanting to accompliſh this; for ſuch events had happened in Scotland as inflamed Henry to the moſt violent pitch of reſentment againſt Francis. Having concluded with the parliament of Scotland a treaty of marriage between his ſon and their young Queen, by which he reckoned himſelf

[z] Dumont Corps Diplom. t. iv. p. ii. p. 274.

fecure of effecting the union of the two kingdoms, which had been long defired, and often attempted without fuccefs by his predeceffors, Mary of Guife the Queen-mother, cardinal Beatoun, and other partizans of France, found means not only to break off the match, but to alienate the Scottifh nation entirely from the friendfhip of England, and to ftrengthen its ancient attachment to France. Henry, however, did not abandon an object of fo much importance; and as the humbling of Francis, befides the pleafure of taking revenge upon an enemy who had difappointed a favourite meafure, appeared the moft effectual method of bringing the Scots to accept once more of the treaty which they had rejected, he was fo eager to accomplifh this, that he was ready to fecond whatever the Emperor could propofe to be attempted againft that monarch. The plan, accordingly, which they concerted, was fuch, if it had been punctually executed, as muft have ruined France in the firft place, and would have augmented fo prodigioufly the Emperor's power and territories as might in the end have proved fatal to the liberties of Europe. They agreed to invade France each with an army of twenty-five thoufand men, and, without lofing time in befieging the frontier towns, to advance directly

towards

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towards the interior provinces, and to join their forces near Paris[a].

The French take the field in Piedmont.

Meanwhile, Francis ſtood alone in oppoſition to all the enemies that Charles was muſtering againſt him. Solyman had been the only ally who did not deſert him; but the aſſiſtance which he received from him had rendered him ſo odious to all Chriſtendom, that he reſolved rather to forego all the advantages of his friendſhip, than to become, on that account, the object of general deteſtation. For this reaſon, he diſmiſſed Barbaroſſa as ſoon as winter was over, who, after ravaging the coaſt of Naples and Tuſcany, returned to Conſtantinople. As Francis could not hope to equal the forces of his rival, he endeavoured to ſupply that defect by diſpatch, which was more in his power, and to get the ſtart of him in taking the field. Early in the ſpring the count d' Enguien inveſted Carignan, a town in Piedmont, which the marquis de Guaſto the Imperial general having ſurprized the former year, conſidered as of ſo much importance, that he had fortified it at great expence. The count puſhed the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that Guaſto, fond of his own conqueſt, and ſeeing no other way of ſaving it from fall-

Inveſt Carignan.

[a] Herbert, 245. Bellay, 448.

ing

ing into the hands of the French, resolved to hazard a battle in order to relieve it. He began his march from Milan for this purpose, and as he was at no pains to conceal his intention, it was soon known in the French camp. Enguien, a gallant and enterprizing young man, wished passionately to try the fortune of a battle; his troops desired it with no less ardour; but the peremptory injunction of the King not to venture a general engagement, flowing from a prudent attention to the present situation of affairs, as well as from the remembrance of former disasters, restrained him from venturing upon it. Unwilling, however, to abandon Carignan, when it was just ready to yield, and eager to distinguish his command by some memorable action, he dispatched Monluc to court, in order to lay before the King the advantages of fighting the enemy, and the hopes which he had of victory. The King referred the matter to the council; all the ministers declared, one after another, against fighting, and supported their sentiments by reasons extremely plausible. While they were delivering their opinions, Monluc, who was permitted to be present, discovered such visible and extravagant symptoms of impatience to speak, as well as such dissatisfaction with what he heard, that Francis, diverted with his appearance, called on him to declare what he could offer in reply to sentiments which

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1544.

The Imperialists march to relieve it.

BOOK VII. 1544. ſeemed to be as juſt as they were general. Upon this, Monluc, a plain but ſpirited ſoldier, and of known courage, repreſented the good condition of the troops, their eagerneſs to meet the enemy in the field, their confidence in their officers, together with the everlaſting infamy which the declining of a battle would bring on the French arms; and he urged his arguments with ſuch lively impetuoſity, and ſuch a flow of military eloquence, as gained over to his opinion, not only the King, naturally fond of daring actions, but ſeveral of the council. Francis, catching the ſame enthuſiaſm which had animated his troops, ſuddenly ſtarted up, and having lifted his hands to heaven, and implored the divine protection, he then addreſſed himſelf to Monluc, "Go, ſays he, return to Piedmont, and fight in the name of God[a]."

Battle of Cerisoles.

No ſooner was it known that the King had given Enguien leave to fight the Imperialiſts, than ſuch was the martial ardour of the gallant and high-ſpirited gentlemen of that age, that the court was quite deſerted, every perſon deſirous of reputation, or capable of ſervice, hurrying to Piedmont, in order to ſhare, as volunteers, in the danger and glory of the action. Encouraged by the arrival of ſo

[a] Memoires de Monluc.

many

many brave officers, Enguien immediately prepared for battle, nor did Guaſto decline the combat. The number of cavalry was almoſt equal, but the Imperial infantry exceeded the French by at leaſt ten thouſand men. They met near Ceriſoles, in an open plain, which afforded to neither any advantage of ground, and both had full time to form their army in proper order. The ſhock was ſuch as might have been expected between veteran troops, violent and obſtinate. The French cavalry running to the charge with their uſual vivacity, bore down every thing that oppoſed them; but, on the other hand, the ſteddy and diſciplined valour of the Spaniſh infantry having forced the body which they encountered to give way, victory remained in ſuſpence, ready to declare for which ever general could make the beſt uſe of that critical moment. Guaſto, engaged in that part of his army which was thrown into diſorder, and afraid of falling into the hands of the French, whoſe vengeance he dreaded on account of the murder of Rincon and Fregoſo, loſt his preſence of mind, and forgot to order a large body of reſerve to advance; whereas Enguien, with admirable courage and equal conduct, ſupported, at the head of his gens d'armes, ſuch of his battalions as began to yield; and at the ſame time he ordered the Swiſs in his ſervice, who had been victorious wherever they fought, to fall upon the Spaniards.

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April 11.

Book VII. 1544. This motion proved decisive. All that followed was confusion and slaughter. The marquis de Guasto, wounded in the thigh, escaped only by the swiftness of his horse. The victory of the French was complete, ten thousand of the Imperialists being slain, and a considerable number, with all their tents, baggage and artillery, taken. On the part of the conquerors, their joy was without allay, a few only being killed, and among these no officer of distinction [b].

Effects of it. THIS splendid action, beside the reputation with which it was attended, delivered France from an imminent danger, as it ruined the army with which Guasto had intended to invade the country between the Rhosne and Saone, where there were neither fortified towns nor regular forces to oppose his progress. But it was not in Francis's power to pursue the victory with such vigour as to reap the advantages which it might have yielded; for though the Milanese remained now almost defenceless; though the inhabitants, who had long murmured under the rigour of the Imperial government, were ready to throw off the yoke; though Enguien, flushed with success, urged the King to seize this happy opportunity of recovering a country, the ac-

[b] Bellay, 429, &c. Memoires de Monluc. Jovii hist. l. xliv. p. 327, 6.

quisition of which had been long his favourite object; yet as the Emperor and King of England were preparing to break in upon the opposite frontier of France with superior force, it became necessary to sacrifice all thoughts of conquest to the public safety, and to recal twelve thousand of Enguien's best troops to be employed in defence of the kingdom. Enguien's subsequent operations were, of consequence, so languid and inconsiderable, that the reduction of Carignan and some other towns in Piedmont, was all that he gained by his great victory at Cerisoles [c]. Book VII. 1544.

The Emperor, as usual, was late in taking the field, but he appeared, towards the beginning of June, at the head of an army more numerous, and better appointed than any which he had hitherto led against France. It amounted almost to fifty thousand men, and part of it having reduced Luxembourg and some other towns in the Netherlands, before he himself joined it, he now marched with the whole towards the frontiers of Champagne. Charles, according to his agreement with the King of England, ought to have advanced directly towards Paris; and the dauphin, who commanded the only army to which Francis trusted for the security

Operations in the Low-Countries.

June.

[c] Bellay, 438, &c.

of

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of his dominions, was in no condition to oppoſe him. But the ſucceſs with which the French had defended Provence in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſix, had taught them the moſt effectual method of diſtreſſing an invading enemy. Champagne, a country abounding more in vines than corn, was incapable of maintaining a great army; and before the Emperor's approach, whatever could be of any uſe to him had been carried off or deſtroyed. This rendered it neceſſary for him to be maſter of ſome places of ſtrength, in order to ſecure the convoys on which alone he now perceived that he muſt depend for ſubſiſtence; and he found the frontier towns ſo ill provided for defence, that he hoped it would not be a work either of much time or difficulty to reduce them. Accordingly Ligny and Commercy, which he firſt attacked, ſurrendered after a ſhort reſiſtance. He then inveſted St. Diſier, which, though it commanded an important paſs on the Marne, was deſtitute of every thing neceſſary for ſuſtaining a ſiege. But the count de Sancerre and M. de la Lande, who had acquired ſuch reputation by the defence of Landrecy, generouſly threw themſelves into the town, and undertook to hold it out to the laſt extremity. The Emperor ſoon found how capable they were of making good their promiſe, and that he could not expect to take the town without beſieging it in form.

The Emperor inveſts St Diſier. July 8.

form.

form. This accordingly he undertook; and as it was his nature never to abandon any enterprize in which he had once engaged, he perfifted in it with an inconfiderate obftinacy. Book VII. 1544.

The King of England's preparations for the campaign were complete long before the Emperor's; but as he did not chufe, on the one hand, to encounter alone the whole power of France, and was unwilling, on the other, that his troops fhould remain unactive, he took that opportunity of chaftifing the Scots, by fending his fleet, together with a confiderable part of his infantry, under the earl of Hertford, to invade their country. Hertford executed his commiffion with vigour, plundered and burnt Edinburgh and Leith, laid wafte the adjacent country, and reimbarked his men with fuch difpatch, that they joined their fovereign foon after his landing in France. When Henry arrived in that kingdom, he found the Emperor engaged in the fiege of St. Difier; an ambaffador, however, whom he fent to congratulate the Englifh Monarch on his fafe arrival on the continent, folicited him to march, in terms of the treaty, directly to Paris. But Charles had fet his ally fuch an ill example of fulfilling the conditions of their confederacy with exactnefs, that Henry, obferving him employ his time and forces in taking towns for his own behoof, faw no reafon why he

Henry VIII. invefts Bologne.

July 14.

Book VII. 1544.

he ſhould not attempt the reduction of ſome places that lay conveniently for himſelf. Without paying any regard to the Emperor's remonſtrances, he immediately inveſted Bologne, and commanded the Duke of Norfolk to preſs the ſiege of Montreuil, which had been begun before his arrival, by a body of Flemings, in conjunction with ſome Engliſh troops. While Charles and Henry ſhewed ſuch attention each to his own intereſt, they both neglected the common cauſe. Inſtead of the union and confidence requiſite towards conducting the great plan that they had formed, they early diſcovered a mutual jealouſy of each other, which, by degrees, begot diſtruſt, and ended in open hatred [d].

Gallant defence of St. Diſier.

MEANWHILE, Francis had, with unwearied induſtry, drawn together an army, capable, as well from the number as from the valour of the troops, of making head againſt the enemy. But the dauphin, who ſtill acted as general, prudently declining a battle, the loſs of which would have endangered the kingdom, ſatisfied himſelf with haraſſing the Emperor with his light troops, cutting off his convoys, and laying waſte the country around him. Though extremely diſtreſſed by theſe operations, Charles ſtill preſſed the ſiege of St. Diſier, which Sancerre defended with aſtoniſhing fortitude and

[d] Herbert.

conduct.

conduct. He stood repeated assaults, repulsing Book VII. the enemy in them all; and undismayed even by 1544. the death of the brave de la Lande, who was killed by a cannon-ball, he continued to shew the same bold countenance and obstinate resolution. At the end of five weeks, he was still capable of holding out some time longer, when an artifice of Granvelle's induced him to surrender. That crafty politician, having intercepted the key to the cypher which the Duke of Guise used in communicating intelligence to Sancerre, forged a letter in his name, authorizing Sancerre to capitulate, as the King, though highly satisfied with his behaviour, thought it imprudent to hazard a battle for his relief. This letter he conveyed into the town in a manner which could raise no suspicion, and the governor fell into the snare. Even then, he obtained such honourable conditions as his gallant defence merited, and among others a cessation of hostilities for eight days, at the expiration of which he bound himself to open the gates, if Francis, during that time, did not attack the Imperial army, and throw fresh troops into the town [e]. Thus Sancerre, by detaining the Emperor so long before an inconsiderable place, afforded his sovereign full time to assemble all his forces, and, what rarely falls to an officer in such an inferior

[e] Brantome, tom. vi. 489.

command,

command, acquired the glory of having saved his country.

August 17. The Emperor penetrates into the heart of France.

As soon as St. Disier surrendered, the Emperor advanced into the heart of Champagne, but Sancerre's obstinate resistance had damped his sanguine hopes of penetrating to Paris, and led him seriously to reflect on what he might expect before towns of greater strength, and defended by more numerous garrisons. At the same time, the procuring subsistence for his army was attended with great difficulty, which increased in proportion as he withdrew from his own frontier. He had lost a great number of his best troops in the siege of St. Disier, and many fell daily in skirmishes, which it was not in his power to avoid, though they wasted his army insensibly, without leading to any decisive action. The season advanced apace, and he had not yet the command either of a sufficient extent of territory, or of any such considerable town as rendered it safe to winter in the enemy's country. Great arrears too were due to his soldiers, who were upon the point of mutinying for their pay, while he knew not from what funds to satisfy them. All these considerations induced him to listen to the overtures of peace, which a Spanish Dominican, the confessor of his sister the Queen of France, had secretly made to his confessor, a monk of the same order. In consequence of this, plenipo-

plenipotentiaries were named on both ſides, and began their conferences in Chauſſè, a ſmall village near Chalons. At the ſame time, Charles, either from a deſire of making one great final effort againſt France, or merely to gain a pretext for deſerting his ally and concluding a ſeparate peace, ſent an ambaſſador formally to require Henry, according to the ſtipulation in their treaty, to advance towards Paris. While he expected a return from him, and waited the iſſue of the conferences at Chauſſè, he continued to march forward, though in the utmoſt diſtreſs from ſcarcity of proviſions. But at laſt, by a fortunate motion on his part, or through ſome neglect or treachery on that of the French, he ſurprized firſt Eſpernay and then Chateau Thierry, in both which were conſiderable magazines. No ſooner was it known that theſe towns, the latter of which is not two days march from Paris, were in the hands of the enemy, than that great capital, defenceleſs, and ſuſceptible of any violent alarm in proportion to its greatneſs, was filled with conſternation. The inhabitants, as if the Emperor had been already at their gates, fled in the wildeſt confuſion and deſpair, many ſending their wives and children down the Seine to Roüen, others to Orleans, and the towns upon the Loire. Francis himſelf, more afflicted with this than with any other event during his reign, and ſenſible as well of

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the triumph that his rival would enjoy in insulting his capital, as of the danger to which the kingdom was exposed, could not refrain from crying out, in the first emotion of his surprize and sorrow, "How dear, O my God, do I pay for this crown, which I thought thou hadst granted me freely [f]!" But recovering in a moment from this sudden sally of peevishness and impatience, he devoutly added, "Thy will, however, be done;" and proceeded to issue the necessary orders for opposing the enemy with his usual activity and presence of mind. The dauphin detached eight thousand men to Paris, which revived the courage of the affrighted citizens; he threw a strong garrison into Meaux, and by a forced march got into Fertè, between the Imperialists and the capital.

Obliged to retire.

UPON this, the Emperor, who began again to feel the want of provisions, perceiving that the dauphin still prudently declined a battle, and not daring to attack his camp with forces so much shattered and reduced by hard service, turned suddenly to the right, and began to fall back towards Soissons. Having about this time received Henry's answer, whereby he refused to abandon the sieges of Bologne and Montreuil, of both which he expected every moment to get

[f] Brantome, tom. vi. 381.

possession,

possession, he thought himself absolved from all obligations of adhering to the treaty with him, and at full liberty to consult his own interest in what manner soever he pleased. He consented, therefore, to renew the conference, which the surprize of Espernay had broke off. To conclude a peace between two princes, one of whom greatly desired, and the other greatly needed it, did not require a long negociation. It was signed at Crespy, a small town near Meaux, on the eighteenth of September. The chief articles of it were, That all the conquests which either party had made since the truce of Nice shall be restored; That the Emperor shall give in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, either his own eldest daughter, or the second daughter of his brother Ferdinand; That if he chose to bestow on him his own daughter, he shall settle on her all the provinces of the Low-Countries, to be erected into an independent state, which shall descend to the male issue of the marriage; That if he determined to give him his niece, he shall, with her, grant him the investiture of Milan and its dependencies; That he shall within four months declare which of these two Princesses he had pitched upon, and fulfil the respective conditions upon the consummation of the marriage, which shall take place within a year from the date of the treaty; That as soon as the Duke of Orleans is put in possession either of the Low-Countries

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Peace between him and Francis concluded at Crespy.

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Countries or of Milan, Francis ſhall reſtore to the Duke of Savoy all that he now poſſeſſes of his territories, except Pignerol and Montmilian; That Francis ſhall renounce all pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples, or to the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and Charles ſhall give up his claim to the dutchy of Burgundy and county of Charolois; That Francis ſhall give no aid to the exiled King of Navarre; That both Monarchs ſhall join in making war upon the Turk, towards which the King ſhall furniſh, when required by the Emperor and Empire, ſix hundred men at arms, and ten thouſand foot [g].

Motives of concluding it.

Besides the immediate motives to this peace, arising from the diſtreſs of his army through want of proviſions; from the difficulty of retreating out of France; and the impoſſibility of ſecuring winter-quarters there; the Emperor was influenced by other conſiderations, more diſtant, indeed, but not leſs weighty. The Pope was offended to a great degree, as well at his conceſſions to the Proteſtants in the late diet, as at his conſenting to call a council, and to admit of public diſputations in Germany, with a view of determining the doctrines in controverſy. Paul conſidering both theſe ſteps as ſacrilegious en-

[g] Recueil des Traitez, t. i. 227. Belius de Cauſis Pacis Crepiac. in Actis Erudit. Lipſ. 1763.

croachments

croachments on the jurifdiction as well as privi- Book VII. 1544.
leges of the Holy See, had addreffed to the Emperor a remonftrance rather than a letter on this fubject, written with fuch acrimony of language, and in a ftyle of fuch high authority, as difcovered more of an intention to draw on a quarrel than of a defire to reclaim him. This ill humour was not a little inflamed by the Emperor's league with Henry, which being contracted with an heretic, excommunicated by the apoftolic fee, appeared to the Pope a profane alliance, and was not lefs dreaded by him, than that of Francis with Solyman. Paul's fon and grandfon, highly incenfed at the Emperor for having refufed to gratify them with regard to the alienation of Parma and Placentia, contributed by their fuggeftions to four and difguft him ftill more. To all which was added the powerful operation of the flattery and promifes which Francis inceffantly employed to gain him. Though from his defire of maintaining a neutrality, the Pope had hitherto fuppreffed his own refentment, had eluded the artifices of his own family, and refifted the folicitations of the French King, it was not fafe to rely much on the fteddinefs of a man whom his paffions, his friends, and his intereft combined to fhake. The union of the Pope with France, Charles well knew, would inftantly expofe his dominions in Italy to be attacked. The Venetians, he

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he foresaw, would probably follow the example of a Pontiff, who was considered as a model of political wisdom among the Italians; and thus, at a juncture when he felt himself hardly equal to the burden of the present war, he would be overwhelmed with the weight of a new confederacy against him[h]. At the same time, the Turks, almost unresisted, made such progress in Hungary, reducing town after town, that they approached near to the confines of the Austrian provinces[i]. Above all these, the extraordinary progress of the Protestant doctrines in Germany, and the dangerous combination into which the Princes of that profession had entered, called for his immediate attention. Almost one half of Germany had revolted from the established church; the fidelity of the rest was much shaken; the nobility of Austria had demanded of Ferdinand the free exercise of religion[k]; the Bohemians, among whom some seeds of the doctrines of Huss still remained, openly favoured the new opinions; the archbishop of Cologne, with a zeal rare among ecclesiastics, had begun the reformation of his diocese; nor was it possible, unless some timely and effectual check were given to the spirit of innovation, to foresee where it would end. He him-

[h] F. Paul, 100. Pallavic. 163.
[i] Istuanhaffii Hist. Hung. 177.
[k] Sleid. 283.

self

felf had been a witnefs, in the late diet, to the peremptory and decifive tone which the Proteftants had now affumed. He had feen how, from confidence in their number, and union, they had forgotten the humble ftyle of their firft petitions, having grown to fuch boldnefs as openly to defpife the Pope, and to fhew no great reverence for the Imperial dignity itfelf. If, therefore, he wifhed to maintain either the ancient religion, or his own authority, and would not chufe to dwindle into a mere nominal head of the Empire, fome vigorous effort was requifite, which could not be made during a war that required the greateft exertion of his ftrength againft a foreign and powerful enemy.

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SUCH being the Emperor's inducements to peace, he had the addrefs to frame the treaty of Crefpy fo as to promote all the ends which he had in view. By coming to an agreement with Francis, he took from the Pope all profpect of advantage in courting the friendfhip of that Monarch in preference to his. By the provifo with regard to a war with the Turks, he not only deprived Solyman of a powerful ally, but turned the arms of that ally againft him. By a private article, not inferted in the treaty that it might not raife any unfeafonable alarm, he agreed with Francis that both fhould exert all their influence and power in order to procure a

 general

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general council, to aſſert its authority, and to exterminate the Proteſtant hereſy out of their dominions. This cut off all hope of aſſiſtance which the confederates of Smalkalde might expect from the French King[1]; and leſt their ſolicitations, or his jealouſy of an ancient rival, ſhould hereafter tempt Francis to forget this engagement, he left him embarraſſed with a war againſt England, which would put it out of his power to take any part in the affairs of Germany.

War continues between France and England.

HENRY, poſſeſſed at all times with an high idea of his own power and importance, felt, in the moſt ſenſible manner, the neglect with which the Emperor had treated him in concluding a ſeparate peace. But the ſituation of his affairs was ſuch as ſomewhat alleviated the mortification which this occaſioned. For though he was obliged to recal the Duke of Norfolk from the ſiege of Montreuil, becauſe the Flemiſh troops received orders to retire, Bologne had ſurrendered before the negociations at Creſpy were brought to an iſſue. While elated with vanity on account of this conqueſt, and inflamed with indignation againſt the Emperor, the ambaſſadors whom Francis ſent to make overtures of peace, found him too arrogant to grant what was

Sept. 14.

[1] Seck. l. iii. 496.

moderate

moderate or equitable. His demands were indeed extravagant, and made in the tone of a conqueror; that Francis ſhould renounce his alliance with Scotland, and not only pay up the arrears of former debts, but reimburſe the money which he had expended in the preſent war. Francis, though ſincerely deſirous of peace, and willing to yield a great deal in order to obtain it, being now free from the preſſure of the Imperial arms, rejected theſe ignominious propoſitions with diſdain; and Henry departing for England, hoſtilities continued between the two nations [m].

The dauphin diſſatiſfied with the peace of Creſpy.

The treaty of peace, how acceptable ſoever to the people of France, whom it delivered from the dread of an enemy who had penetrated into the heart of the kingdom, was loudly complained of by the dauphin. He conſidered it as a manifeſt proof of the King his father's extraordinary partiality towards his younger brother, now Duke of Orleans, and complained that from his eagerneſs to gain an eſtabliſhment for a favourite ſon, he had ſacrificed the honour of the kingdom, and renounced the moſt ancient as well as valuable rights of the crown. But as he durſt not venture to offend the king by refuſing to ratify it, though extremely deſirous at

[m] Mem. de Ribier, t. i. p. 572. Herbert, 244.

the ſame time of ſecuring to himſelf the privilege of reclaiming what was now alienated ſo much to his detriment, he ſecretly proteſted, in preſence of ſome of his adherents, againſt the whole tranſaction; and declared whatever he ſhould be obliged to do in order to confirm it, null in itſelf, and void of all obligation. The parliament of Thoulouſe, probably by the inſtigation of his partizans, did the ſame [n]. But Francis, highly pleaſed as well with having delivered his ſubjects from the miſeries of an invaſion, as with the proſpect of acquiring an independent ſettlement for his ſon at no greater price than the renouncing conqueſts to which he had no juſt claim; titles which had hitherto proved the ſource of expence or diſaſters to the nation; and rights grown obſolete and of no value; ratified the treaty with great joy. Charles, within the time preſcribed by the treaty, declared his intention of giving Ferdinand's daughter in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, together with the dutchy of Milan as her dowry [o]. Every circumſtance ſeemed to promiſe the continuance of peace. The Emperor, cruelly afflicted with the gout, appeared to be in no condition to undertake any enterprize where great activity was requiſite, or much fatigue to be endured. He

[n] Recueil de Traitez, t. ii. 235, 238.
[o] Recueil de Traitez, t. ii. 238.

himſelf felt this, or wiſhed at leaſt that it ſhould be believed; and being ſo much diſabled by this excruciating diſtemper, when a French ambaſſador followed him to Bruſſels in order to be preſent at his ratification of the treaty of peace, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he ſigned his name, he obſerved, that there was no great danger of his violating theſe articles, as a hand that could hardly hold a pen, was little able to brandiſh a lance.

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The Emperor's ſchemes with reſpect to Germany.

THE violence of his diſeaſe confined the Emperor ſeveral months in Bruſſels, and was the apparent cauſe of putting off the execution of the vaſt ſchemes which he had formed in order to humble the Proteſtant party in Germany. But there were other reaſons for this delay. For, how prevalent ſoever the motives were which determined him to undertake this enterprize, the nature of that great body which he was about to attack, as well as the ſituation of his own affairs, made it neceſſary to deliberate long, to proceed with caution, and not to throw aſide too ſuddenly the veil under which he had hitherto concealed his real ſentiments and ſchemes. He was ſenſible that the Proteſtants, conſcious of their own ſtrength, but under continual apprehenſions of his deſigns, had all the boldneſs of a powerful party joined to the jealouſy of a feeble

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feeble faction; and were no less quick-sighted to discern the first appearance of danger, than ready to take arms in order to repel it. At the same time, he continued involved in a Turkish war; and though, in order to deliver himself from this incumbrance, he had determined to send an envoy to the Porte with most advantageous and even submissive overtures of peace, the resolutions of that haughty court were so uncertain, that before these were known, it would have been the height of imprudence to have kindled the flames of civil war in his own dominions.

The Pope summons a general council to meet at Trent. Nov. 19.

UPON this account, he appeared dissatisfied with a bull issued by the Pope immediately after the peace of Crespy, summoning the council to assemble at Trent early next spring, and exhorting all Christian Princes to embrace the opportunity that the present happy interval of tranquillity afforded them, of suppressing those heresies which threatened to subvert whatever was sacred or venerable among Christians. But after such a slight expression of dislike, as was necessary in order to cover his designs, he determined to countenance the council, which might become no inconsiderable instrument towards accomplishing his projects, and therefore not only appointed ambassadors to appear there in his name,

name, but ordered the eccleſiaſtics in his dominions to attend at the time prefixed [p]. Book VII. 1544.

Such were the Emperor's views, when the Imperial diet, after ſeveral prorogations, was opened at Worms. The Proteſtants, who enjoyed the free exerciſe of their religion by a very precarious tenure, having no other ſecurity for it than the receſs of the laſt diet, which was to continue in force only until the meeting of a council, wiſhed earneſtly to eſtabliſh that important privilege upon ſome firmer baſis, and to hold it by a perpetual not a temporary title. But, inſtead of offering them any additional ſecurity, Ferdinand opened the diet with obſerving, that there were two points, chiefly, which required conſideration, the proſecution of the war againſt the Turks, and the ſtate of religion; that the former was the moſt urgent, as Solyman, after conquering the greateſt part of Hungary, was now ready to fall upon the Auſtrian provinces; that the Emperor, who, from the beginning of his reign, had neglected no opportunity of annoying this formidable enemy, and with the hazard of his own perſon had reſiſted his attacks, being animated ſtill with the ſame zeal, had now conſented to ſtop ſhort in the career of his ſucceſs againſt France, that, in 1545. Diet at Worms. March 24.

p F. Paul, 104.

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conjunction with his ancient rival, he might turn his arms with greater vigour against the common adversary of the Christian faith; that it became all the members of the Empire to second these pious endeavours of its head; that, therefore, they ought, without delay, to vote him such effectual aid as not only their duty but their interest called upon them to furnish; that the controversies about religion were so intricate, and of such difficult discussion, as to give no hope of its being possible to bring them at present to any final issue; that by perseverance and repeated solicitations the Emperor had at length prevailed on the Pope to call a council, for which they had so often wished and petitioned; that the time appointed for its meeting was now come, and both parties ought to wait for its decrees, and submit to them as the decisions of the universal church.

Ferdinand requires the Germans to acknowledge the council.

The popish members of the diet received this declaration with great applause, and signified their entire acquiescence in every particular which it contained. The Protestants expressed great surprize at propositions, which were so manifestly repugnant to the recess of the former diet; they insisted that the questions with regard to religion, as first in dignity and importance, ought to come first under deliberation; that, alarming as the progress of the Turks was to all

Germany,

Germany, the ſecuring the free exerciſe of their religion touched them ſtill more nearly, nor could they proſecute a foreign war with ſpirit, while ſolicitous and concerned about their domeſtic tranquillity; that if the latter were once rendered firm and permanent, they would concur with their countrymen in puſhing the former, and yield to none of them in activity or zeal. But if the danger from the Turkiſh arms was indeed ſo imminent, as not to admit of ſuch a delay as would be occaſioned by an immediate examination of the contraverted points in religion, they required that a diet ſhould be inſtantly appointed, to which the final ſettlement of their religious diſputes ſhould be referred; and that in the mean time the decree of the former diet concerning religion ſhould be explained in a point which they deemed eſſential. By the receſs of Spires it was provided, that they ſhould enjoy unmoleſted the public exerciſe of their religion, until the meeting of a legal council; but as the Pope had now called a council, to which Ferdinand had required them to ſubmit, they began to ſuſpect that their adverſaries might take advantage of an ambiguity in the terms of the receſs, and pretending that the event therein mentioned had taken place, might pronounce them to be no longer entitled to the ſame indulgence. In order to guard againſt this interpretation, they renewed their former remonſtrances

againſt

Book VII. 1545. against a council called to meet without the bounds of the Empire, ſummoned by the Pope's authority, and in which he aſſumed the right of preſiding; and declared that, notwithſtanding the convocation of any ſuch illegal aſſembly, they ſtill held the receſs of the late diet to be in full force.

Emperor arrives at Worms.

At other junctures, when the Emperor thought it of advantage to ſooth and gain the Proteſtants, he had deviſed expedients for giving them ſatisfaction with regard to demands ſeemingly more extravagant; but his views at preſent being very different, Ferdinand by his command adhered inflexibly to his firſt propoſitions, and would make no conceſſions which had the moſt remote tendency to throw diſcredit on the council, or to weaken its authority. The Proteſtants, on their part, were no leſs inflexible; and, after much time ſpent in fruitleſs endeavours to convince each other, they came to no concluſion. Nor did the preſence of the Emperor, who upon his recovery arrived at Worms, contribute in any degree to render the Proteſtants more compliant. Fully convinced that they were maintaining the cauſe of God and of truth, they ſhewed themſelves ſuperior to the allurements of intereſt, or the ſuggeſtions of fear; and in proportion as the Emperor redoubled his ſolicitations, or diſcovered his deſigns,

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ſigns, their boldneſs ſeems to have increaſed. At laſt they openly declared, that they would not even deign to vindicate their tenets in preſence of a council, aſſembled not to examine, but to condemn them; and that they would pay no regard to an aſſembly held under the influence of a Pope, who had already precluded himſelf from all title to act as a judge, by his having ſtigmatized their opinions with the name of hereſy, and denounced againſt them the heavieſt cenſures, which, in the plenitude of his uſurped power, he could inflict [q].

The Proteſtants diſclaim all connection with the council of Trent.

WHILE the Proteſtants, with ſuch union as well as firmneſs, rejected all intercourſe with the council, and refuſed their aſſent to the Imperial demands in reſpect to the Turkiſh war, Maurice of Saxony alone ſhewed an inclination to gratify the Emperor with regard to both. Though he profeſſed an inviolable regard for the Proteſtant religion, he aſſumed an appearance of moderation peculiar to himſelf, by which he confirmed the favourable ſentiments that the Emperor already entertained of him, and gradually paved the way for executing the ambitious deſigns which always occupied his active and enterprizing mind [r]. His example, how-

Conduct of Maurice of Saxony in this diet.

[q] Sleid. 343, &c. Seck. iii. 543, &c. Thuan. Hiſtor. lib. ii. p. 56.

[r] Seck. iii. 571.

ever,

Book VII. 1545. ever, had little influence upon ſuch as agreed with him in their religious opinions; and Charles perceived that he could not hope either to procure preſent aid from the Proteſtants againſt the Turks, or to quiet their fears and jealouſies on account of their religion. But as his ſchemes were not yet ripe for execution, nor his preparations ſo far advanced that he could force their compliance, or puniſh their obſtinacy, he artfully concealed his own intentions. August 4. That he might augment their ſecurity, he appointed a diet to be held at Ratiſbon early next year, in order to adjuſt what was now left undetermined; and previous to it, he agreed that a certain number of divines of each party ſhould meet, in order to confer upon the points in diſpute [s].

The Proteſtants begin to ſuſpect the Emperor.

But how far ſoever this appearance of a deſire to maintain the preſent tranquillity might have impoſed upon the Proteſtants, the Emperor was incapable of ſuch uniform and thorough diſſimulation, as to hide altogether from their view the dangerous deſigns which he was meditating againſt them. Herman count de Wied, Archbiſhop and Elector of Cologne, a prelate conſpicuous for his virtue and primitive ſimplicity of manners, though not more diſtinguiſhed for learning than the other deſcendants of noble families, who in that age poſſeſſed moſt of the

[s] Sleid. 351.

great

great benefices in Germany, having become a proselyte to the doctrines of the Reformers, had begun in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-three, with the assistance of Melancthon and Bucer, to abolish the ancient superstition in his diocese, and to introduce in its place the rites established among the Protestants. But the canons of his cathedral who were not possessed with the same spirit of innovation, and who foresaw how fatal the levelling genius of the new sect would prove to their dignity and wealth, opposed, from the beginning, this unprecedented enterprize of their Archbishop with all the zeal flowing from reverence for old institutions, heightened by concern for their own interest. This opposition, which the Archbishop considered only as a new argument to demonstrate the necessity of a Reformation, neither shook his resolution nor slackened his ardour in prosecuting his plan. The canons, perceiving all their endeavours to check his career to be ineffectual, solemnly protested against his proceedings, and appealed for redress to the Pope and Emperor, the former as his ecclesiastical, the latter as his civil superior. This appeal being laid before the Emperor, during his residence in Worms, he took the canons of Cologne under his immediate protection; enjoined them to proceed with rigour against all who revolted from the established church; prohibited the Archbishop to

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make any innovation in his diocefe; and fummoned him to appear at Bruffels within thirty days, to anfwer the accufations which fhould be preferred againft him[t].

To this clear evidence of his hoftile intentions againft the Proteftant party, Charles added other proofs ftill more explicit. In his hereditary dominions of the Low-Countries, he perfecuted all who were fufpected of Lutheranifm with unrelenting rigour. As foon as he arrived at Worms, he filenced the Proteftant preachers in that city. He allowed an Italian monk to inveigh againft the Lutherans from the pulpit of his chapel, and to call upon him, as he regarded the favour of God, to exterminate that peftilent herefy. He difpatched the embaffy, which has been already mentioned, to Conftantinople, with overtures of peace, that he might be free from any apprehenfions of danger or interruption from that quarter. Nor did any of thefe fteps, or their dangerous tendency, efcape the jealous obfervation of the Proteftants, or fail to alarm their fears, and to excite their folicitude for the fafety of their fect.

Death of the Duke of Orleans.

MEANWHILE, Charles's good fortune, which predominated on all occafions over that of his

[t] Sleid. 310, 340, 351. Seckend. iii. 443, 553.

rival Francis, extricated him out of a difficulty, from which, with all his ſagacity and addreſs, he would have found it no eaſy matter to have diſentangled himſelf. Juſt about the time when the Duke of Orleans ſhould have received Ferdinand's daughter in marriage, and together with her the poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, he died of a peſtilential fever. By this event, the Emperor was freed from the neceſſity of giving up an important province into the hands of an enemy, or from the indecency of violating a recent and ſolemn engagement, which muſt have occaſioned an immediate rupture with France. He affected, however, to expreſs great ſorrow for the untimely death of a young Prince, who was to have been ſo nearly allied to him; but he carefully avoided entering into any freſh diſcuſſions concerning the Milaneſe; and would not liſten to a propoſal which came from Francis of new-modelling the treaty of Creſpy, ſo as to make him ſome reparation for the advantages which he had loſt by the demiſe of his ſon. In the more active and vigorous part of Francis's reign, a declaration of war would have been the certain and inſtantaneous conſequence of ſuch a flat refuſal to comply with a demand ſeemingly ſo equitable; but the declining ſtate of his own health, the exhauſted condition of his kingdoms, together with the burden of the war againſt England, obliged him, at preſent, to diſſemble his

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his resentment, and to put off thoughts of revenge to some other juncture. In consequence of this event, the unfortunate Duke of Savoy lost all hope of obtaining the restitution of his territories; and the rights or claims relinquished by the treaty of Crespy, returned in full force to the crown of France, to serve as pretexts for future wars [u].

The Pope grants the dutchies of Parma and Placentia to his son.

Upon the first intelligence of the Duke of Orleans's death, the confederates of Smalkalde flattered themselves that the essential alterations which it occasioned could hardly fail of producing a rupture, which would prove the means of their safety. But they were not more disappointed with regard to this, than in their expectations from an event which seemed to be the certain prelude of a quarrel between the Emperor and the Pope. When Paul, whose passion for aggrandizing his family, increased as he advanced in years, and as he saw the dignity and power which they derived immediately from him becoming more precarious, found that he could not bring Charles to approve of his ambitious schemes, he ventured, to grant his son Peter Lewis the investiture of Parma and Placentia, though at the risque of incurring the displeasure of the Emperor. At a time when a great part

[u] Belcarii Comment. 769. Paruta, Hist. Venet. iv. p. 177.

of

of Europe inveighed openly againſt the corrupt manners and exorbitant power of Eccleſiaſtics, and when a council was ſummoned to reform the diſorders in the church, this indecent grant of ſuch a principality, to a ſon of whoſe illegitimate birth the Pope ought to have been aſhamed, and whoſe licentious morals all good men deteſted, gave general offence. Some Cardinals in the Imperial intereſt remonſtrated againſt ſuch an unbecoming alienation of the patrimony of the church; the Spaniſh ambaſſador would not be preſent at the ſolemnity of his enfeofment; and the Emperor peremptorily refuſed, upon pretext that theſe cities were part of the Milaneſe ſtate, to confirm the deed of inveſtiture. But both the Emperor and Pope being intent upon one common object in Germany, ſacrificed their particular paſſions to that public cauſe, and ſuppreſſed the emotions of jealouſy or reſentment which were riſing on this occaſion, that they might jointly purſue what each eſteemed of greater importance [x].

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ABOUT this time the peace of Germany was diſturbed by a violent but ſhort eruption of Henry Duke of Brunſwick. This Prince, though ſtill ſtript of his dominions, which the Emperor held in ſequeſtration, until his differ-

Henry of Brunſwick kindles a war in Germany.

[x] Paruta, Hiſt. Venet. iv. 178. Pallavii, 180.

 ences

1545.

ences with the confederates of Smalkalde ſhould be adjuſted, poſſeſſed however ſo much credit in Germany, that he undertook to raiſe for the French King a conſiderable body of troops to be employed in the war againſt England. The money ſtipulated for this purpoſe was duly advanced by Francis; the troops were levied; but Henry, inſtead of leading them towards France, ſuddenly entered his own dominions at their head, in hopes of recovering them before any army could be aſſembled to oppoſe him. The confederates were not more ſurprized at this unexpected attack, than the King of France was aſtoniſhed at a mean thieviſh fraud, ſo unbecoming the character of a Prince. But the Landgrave of Heſſe, with incredible expedition, collected as many men as put a ſtop to the progreſs of Henry's undiſciplined forces, and being joined by his ſon-in-law Maurice, and by ſome troops belonging to the Elector of Saxony, he gained ſuch advantages over Henry, who was raſh and bold in forming his ſchemes, but feeble and undetermined in executing them, as obliged him to diſband his army, and to ſurrender himſelf together with his eldeſt ſon priſoners at diſcretion. He was kept in cloſe confinement, until a new reverſe of affairs procured him liberty [y].

[y] Sleid. 352. Seck. iii. 567.

1546.

The Reformation of the Palatinate.

As this defeat of Henry's wild enterprize added new reputation to the arms of the Protestants, the Reformation of the Palatinate brought a great acceſſion of ſtrength to their party. Frederick, who ſucceeded his brother Lewis in that Electorate, had long been ſuſpected of a ſecret propenſity to the doctrines of the Reformers, which, upon his acceſſion to the principality, he openly manifeſted. But as he expected that ſomething effectual towards a general and legal eſtabliſhment of religion, would be the fruit of ſo many diets, conferences, and negociations, he did not, at firſt, attempt any public innovation in his dominions. Finding all theſe iſſue in nothing, he thought himſelf called, at length, to countenance by his authority the ſyſtem which he approved of, and to gratify the wiſhes of his ſubjects, who, by their intercourſe with the Proteſtant ſtates, had univerſally imbibed their opinions. As the warmth and impetuoſity which accompanied the ſpirit of Reformation in its firſt efforts, had ſomewhat abated, this change was made with great order and regularity; the ancient rites were aboliſhed, and new forms introduced, without any act of violence, or ſymptom of diſcontent. Though Frederick adopted the religious ſyſtem of the Proteſtants, he imitated the example of Mau-

Jan. 10.

Book VII. 1546. rice, and did not accede to the league of Smalkalde[z].

The council assembles at Trent.

A few weeks before this revolution in the Palatinate, the general council was opened with the accustomed solemnities at Trent. The eyes of the Catholic states were turned with much expectation towards an assembly, which all had considered as a natural and adequate remedy for the disorders of the church when they first broke out, though many were afraid that it was now too late to hope for great benefit from it, when the malady, by being suffered to make progress during twenty-eight years, had become inveterate, and grown to such extreme violence. The Pope, by his last bull of convocation, had appointed the first meeting to be held in March. But his views, and those of the Emperor, were so different, that almost the whole year was spent in negociations. Charles, who foresaw that the rigorous decrees of the council against the Protestants would soon drive them, in self-defence as well as from resentment, to some desperate extreme, laboured to put off its meeting until his warlike preparations were so far advanced, that he might be in a condition to second its decisions by the force of his arms. The Pope,

[z] Sleid. 356. Seck. l. iii. 616.

who had early ſent to Trent the legates who were to preſide in his name, knowing to what contempt it would expoſe his authority, and what ſuſpicions it would beget of his intentions, if the fathers of the council ſhould remain in a ſtate of inactivity, when the church was in ſuch danger as to require their immediate and vigorous interpoſition, inſiſted either upon tranſlating the council to ſome city in Italy, or upon ſuſpending its proceedings at that juncture, or upon authoriſing it to begin its deliberations immediately. The Emperor rejected the two former as equally offenſive to the Germans of every denomination, but finding it impoſſible to elude the latter, he propoſed that the council ſhould begin with reforming the diſorders in the church, before it proceeded to examine or define articles of faith. This was the very thing which the court of Rome dreaded moſt, and which had prompted it to employ ſo many artifices in order to prevent the meeting of ſuch a dangerous judicatory. Paul, though more compliant than ſome of his predeceſſors with regard to calling a council, was no leſs jealous than they had been of its juriſdiction, and ſaw what matter of triumph ſuch a method of proceeding would afford the heretics. He apprehended conſequences not only humbling but fatal to the papal ſee, if the council came to conſider an inqueſt into abuſes as their only buſineſs; or if

Book VII. 1546. inferior prelates were allowed to gratify their own envy and peeviſhneſs, by preſcribing rules to thoſe who were exalted above them in dignity and power. Without liſtening, therefore, to this inſidious propoſal of the Emperor, he inſtructed his legates to open the council.

Jan. 18. Its proceedings. The firſt ſeſſion was ſpent in matters of form. In a ſubſequent one, it was agreed that the framing a confeſſion of faith, that ſhould contain all the articles which the church required its members to believe, ought to be the firſt and principal buſineſs of the council; but that, at the ſame time, due attention ſhould be given to what was neceſſary towards the reformation of manners and diſcipline. From this firſt ſymptom of the ſpirit with which the council was animated, from the high tone of authority which the legates who preſided in it aſſumed, and from the implicit deference with which moſt of the members followed their directions, the Proteſtants conjectured with eaſe what deciſions they might expect. It aſtoniſhed them, however, to ſee forty prelates, (for no greater number were yet aſſembled) aſſume authority as repreſentatives of the univerſal church, and proceed to determine the moſt important points of doctrine in its name. Senſible of this indecency, as well as of the ridicule with which it might be attended, the council advanced ſlowly in its deliberations,

and

and all its proceedings were for ſome time languiſhing and feeble [a]. As ſoon as the confederates of Smalkalde received information of the opening of the council, they publiſhed a long manifeſto, containing a renewal of their proteſt againſt its meeting, together with the reaſons which induced them to decline its juriſdictions [b]. The Pope and Emperor, meanwhile, were ſo little ſolicitous to quicken or add vigour to its operations, as plainly diſcovered that ſome object of greater importance occupied and intereſted them. BookVII. 1546.

THE Proteſtants, as they were not inattentive or unconcerned ſpectators of their motions, entertained every day more violent ſuſpicions of their intentions, and received intelligence from different quarters of the machinations carrying on againſt them. The King of England informed them, that the Emperor having long reſolved to exterminate their opinions, would not fail to employ this interval of tranquillity which he now enjoyed, as the moſt favourable juncture for carrying his deſign into execution. The merchants of Augſburg, which was at that time a city of extenſive trade, received advice, by means of their correſpondents in Italy, among

Apprehenſions of the Proteſtants.

[a] F. Paul, 120, &c. Pallavic. p. 180, &c.

[b] Seckend. l. iii. 602, &c.

BOOK VII. 1546.

whom were ſome who ſecretly favoured the Proteſtant cauſe [c], that a dangerous confederacy againſt it was forming between the Pope and Emperor. In confirmation of this, they heard from the Low-Countries that Charles had iſſued orders, though with every precaution which could keep the meaſure concealed, for raiſing troops both there and in other parts of his dominions. Such a variety of information, corroborating all that their own jealouſy or obſervation led them to apprehend, left the Proteſtants little reaſon to doubt of the Emperor's hoſtile intentions. Under this impreſſion, the deputies of the confederates of Smalkalde aſſembled at Frankfort, and by communicating their intelligence and ſentiments to each other, reciprocally heightened their ſenſe of the impending danger. But their union was not ſuch as their ſituation required, or the preparations of their enemies rendered neceſſary. Their league had now ſubſiſted ten years. Among ſo many members whoſe territories were intermingled with each other, and who, according to the cuſtom of Germany, had created an infinite variety of mutual rights and claims by intermarriages, alliances, and contracts of different kinds, ſubjects of jealouſy and diſcord had unavoidably ariſen. Some of the confederates, being con-

Their deliberations.

[c] Seck. l. iii. 579.

nected

nected with the Duke of Brunswick, were highly disgusted with the Landgrave, on account of the rigour with which he had treated that rash but unfortunate Prince. Others taxed the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave, the heads of the league, with having involved the members in unnecessary and exorbitant expences by their profuseness or want of œconomy. The views, likewise, of these two great Princes, who, by their superior power and authority, influenced and directed the whole body, being extremely different, rendered all its motions languid, at a time when the utmost vigour and dispatch were requisite. The Landgrave, of a violent and enterprizing temper, but not forgetful, amidst his zeal for religion, of the usual maxims of human policy, insisted that, as the danger which threatened them was manifest and unavoidable, they should have recourse to the most effectual expedient for securing their own safety, by courting the protection of the Kings of France and England, or by joining in alliance with the Protestant cantons of Swisserland, from whom they might expect such powerful and present assistance as their situation demanded. The Elector, on the other hand, with the most upright intentions of any Prince in that age, and with talents which might have qualified him abundantly for the administration of government in any tranquil period,

Book VII. 1546.

period, was poſſeſſed with ſuch ſuperſtitious veneration for all the parts of the Lutheran ſyſtem, and ſuch bigotted attachment to all its tenets, as made him averſe to an union with thoſe who differed from him in any article of faith, and rendered him very incapable of undertaking its defence in times of difficulty and danger. He ſeemed to think, that the concerns of religion were to be regulated entirely by principles and maxims different from thoſe which apply to the common affairs of life; and being ſwayed too much by the opinions of Luther, who was not only a ſtranger to the rules of political conduct, but deſpiſed them; he often diſcovered an uncomplying ſpirit, which proved of the greateſt detriment to the cauſe that he wiſhed to ſupport. Influenced, on this occaſion, by the ſevere and rigid notions of that Reformer, he refuſed to enter into any confederacy with Francis, becauſe he was a perſecutor of the truth; or to ſolicit the friendſhip of Henry, becauſe he was no leſs impious and profane than the Pope himſelf; or even to join in alliance with the Swiſs, becauſe they differed from him in ſeveral eſſential articles of faith. This diſſenſion, about a point of ſuch conſequence, produced its natural effects. Each ſecretly cenſured and reproached the other. The Landgrave conſidered the Elector as fettered by narrow prejudices, unworthy of

of a Prince called to act a chief part in a scene of such importance. The Elector suspected him of loose principles and ambitious views, which corresponded ill with the sacred cause in which they were engaged. But though the Elector's scruples prevented their timely application for foreign aid; and the jealousy or discontent of the other Princes defeated a proposal for renewing their original confederacy, the term during which it was to continue in force being on the point of expiring; yet the sense of their common danger induced them to agree with regard to other points, particularly that they would never acknowledge the assembly at Trent as a lawful council, nor suffer the Archbishop of Cologne to be oppressed on account of the steps which he had taken towards the reformation of his diocese [d]. Book VII. 1546.

The Landgrave, meanwhile, desirous of penetrating to the bottom of the Emperor's intentions, wrote to Granvelle, whom he knew to be thoroughly acquainted with all his master's schemes, informing him of the several particulars which raised the suspicions of the Protestants, and begging an explicit declaration of what they had to fear or to hope. Granvelle, in return, assured them that the intelli- Their negociations with the Emperor.

[d] Seck. l. iii. 566, 570, 613. Sleid. 355.

gence

Book VII. 1546. gence which they had received of the Emperor's military preparations was exaggerated, and all their fuſpicions deſtitute of foundation; that, though in order to guard his frontiers againſt any inſult of the French or Engliſh, he had commanded a ſmall body of men to be raiſed in the Low-Countries, he was as ſolicitous as ever to maintain tranquillity in Germany [e].

But the Emperor's actions did not correſpond with theſe profeſſions. For, inſtead of appointing men of known moderation and a pacific temper to appear in defence of the Catholic doctrines at the conference which had been agreed on, he made choice of fierce bigots, attached to their own ſyſtem with a blind obſtinacy, which rendered all hope of reconcilement deſperate. Malvenda, a Spaniſh divine, who took the conduct of the debate on the part of the Catholics, managed it with all the ſubtle dexterity of a ſcholaſtic metaphyſician, more ſtudious to perplex his adverſaries than to convince them, and more intent on palliating error than on diſcovering truth. The Proteſtants filled with indignation, as well at his ſophiſtry as at ſome regulations which the Emperor endea-

[e] Sleid. 356.

voured

voured to impoſe on the diſputants, broke off the conference abruptly, being now fully convinced that, in all his late meaſures, the Emperor could have no other view than to amuſe them, and to gain time for ripening his own ſchemes [f]. Book VII. 1546.

[f] Sleid. 358. Seck. l. iii. 620.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF THE
EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK VIII.

BOOK VIII.

1546. Death of Luther.

WHILE appearances of danger daily increased, and the tempest which had been so long a gathering was ready to break forth in all its violence against the Protestant church, Luther was saved, by a seasonable death, from feeling or beholding its destructive rage. Having gone, though in a declining state of health, and during a rigorous season, to his native city of Eysleben, in order to compose, by his authority, a dissension among the counts of Mansfield, he was seized with a violent inflam-

Feb. 18.

mation in his stomach, which in a few days put

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an end to his life, in the ſixty-third year of his age. As he was raiſed up by providence to be the author of one of the greateſt and moſt intereſting revolutions recorded in hiſtory, there is not any perſon perhaps whoſe character has been drawn with ſuch oppoſite colours. In his own age, one party, ſtruck with horror and inflamed with rage, when they ſaw with what a daring hand he overturned every thing which they held to be ſacred, or valued as beneficial, imputed to him not only all the defects and vices of a man, but the qualities of a dæmon. The other, warmed with the admiration and gratitude, which they thought he merited as the reſtorer of light and liberty to the Chriſtian church, aſcribed to him perfections above the condition of humanity, and viewed all his actions with a veneration bordering on that which ſhould be paid only to thoſe who are guided by the immediate inſpiration of Heaven. It is his own conduct, not the undiſtinguiſhing cenſure or the exaggerated praiſe of his contemporaries, which ought to regulate the opinions of the preſent age concerning him. Zeal for what he regarded as truth, undaunted intrepidity to maintain principles, abilities both natural and acquired to defend them, and unwearied induſtry in propagating them, are virtues which ſhine ſo conſpicuouſly in every part of his behaviour, that even his enemies muſt allow him to have poſ-

His character.

ſeſſed

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ſeſſed them in an eminent degree. To theſe may be added, with equal juſtice, ſuch purity and even auſterity of manners, as became one who aſſumed the character of a Reformer; ſuch ſanctity of life as ſuited the doctrine which he delivered; and ſuch perfect diſintereſtedneſs as affords no ſlight preſumption of his ſincerity. Superior to all ſelfiſh conſiderations, a ſtranger to the elegancies of life, and deſpiſing its pleaſures, he left the honours and emoluments of the church to his diſciples, remaining ſatisfied himſelf in his original ſtate of profeſſor in the univerſity, and paſtor of the town of Wittemberg, with the moderate appointments annexed to theſe offices. His extraordinary qualities were allayed with no inconſiderable mixture of human frailty and human paſſions. These, however, were of ſuch a nature, that they cannot be imputed to malevolence or corruption of heart, but ſeem to have taken their riſe from the ſame ſource with many of his virtues. His mind, forcible and vehement in all its operations, rouzed by great objects, or agitated by violent paſſions, broke out, on many occaſions, with an impetuoſity which aſtoniſhes men of feebler ſpirits, or ſuch as are placed in a more tranquil ſituation. By carrying ſome praiſe-worthy diſpoſitions to exceſs, he bordered ſometimes on what was culpable, and was often betrayed into actions which expoſed him to cenſure. His

confidence

confidence that his own opinions were well founded, approached to arrogance; his courage in aſſerting them, to raſhneſs; his firmneſs in adhering to them, to obſtinacy; and his zeal in confuting his adverſaries, to rage and ſcurrility. Accuſtomed himſelf to conſider every thing as ſubordinate to truth, he expected the ſame deference for it from other men; and, without making any allowances for their timidity or prejudices, he poured forth againſt ſuch as diſappointed him in this particular, a torrent of invective mingled with contempt. Regardleſs of any diſtinction of rank or character when his doctrines were attacked, he chaſtiſed all his adverſaries, indiſcriminately, with the ſame rough hand; neither the royal dignity of Henry VIII. nor the eminent learning and abilities of Eraſmus, ſcreened them from the ſame groſs abuſe with which he treated Tetzel or Eccius.

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But theſe indecencies of which Luther was guilty, muſt not be imputed wholly to the violence of his temper. They ought to be charged in part on the manners of the age. Among a rude people, unacquainted with thoſe maxims, which, by putting continual reſtraint on the paſſions of individuals, have poliſhed ſociety and rendered it agreeable, diſputes of every kind were managed with heat, and ſtrong emotions were

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were uttered in their natural language, without reserve or delicacy. At the same time, the works of learned men were all composed in Latin, and they were not only authorized, by the example of eminent writers in that language, to use their antagonists with the most illiberal scurrility; but, in a dead tongue, indecencies of every kind appear less shocking than in a living language, whose idioms and phrases seem gross, because they are familiar.

In passing judgment upon the characters of men, we ought to try them by the principles and maxims of their own age, not by those of another. For, although virtue and vice are at all times the same, manners and customs vary continually. Some parts of Luther's behaviour, which to us appear most culpable, gave no disgust to his contemporaries. It was even by some of those qualities, which we are now apt to blame, that he was fitted for accomplishing the great work which he undertook. To rouze mankind, when sunk in ignorance or superstition, and to encounter the rage of bigotry, armed with power, required the utmost vehemence of zeal, as well as a temper daring to excess. A gentle call would neither have reached, nor have excited those to whom it was addressed. A spirit, more amiable, but less vigorous than Luther's, would have shrunk back from the dangers,

gers, which he braved and ſurmounted. Towards the cloſe of Luther's life, though without any perceptible declenſion of his zeal or abilities, the infirmities of his temper increaſed upon him ſo that he grew daily more peeviſh, more iraſcible, and more impatient of contradiction. Having lived to be witneſs of his own amazing ſucceſs; to ſee a great part of Europe embrace his doctrines; and to ſhake the foundation of the papal throne, before which the mightieſt Monarchs had trembled, he diſcovered, on ſome occaſions, ſymptoms of vanity and ſelf-applauſe. He muſt have been indeed more than man, if, upon contemplating all that he actually accompliſhed, he had never felt any ſentiment of this kind riſing in his breaſt *.

* A remarkable inſtance of this, as well as of a certain ſingularity and elevation of ſentiment, is found in his Laſt Will. Though the effects which he had to bequeath were very inconſiderable, he thought it neceſſary to make a Teſtament, but ſcorned to frame it with the uſual legal formalities. Notus ſum, ſays he, in cœlo, in terra, & inferno, & auctoritatem ad hoc ſufficientem habeo, ut mihi ſoli credatur, cum Deus mihi, homini licet damnabili, et miſerabili peccatori, ex paterna miſericordia Evangelium filii ſui crediderit, dederitque ut in eo verax & fidelis fuerim, ita ut multi in mundo illud per me acceperint, & me pro Doctore veritatis agnoverint, ſpreto banno Papæ, Cæſaris, Regum, Principum & ſacerdotum, immo omnium dæmonum odio. Quidni, igitur, ad diſpoſitionem hanc, in re exigua, ſufficiat, ſi adſit manus meæ teſtimonium, & dici poſſit, hæc ſcripſit D. Martinus Luther, Notarius Dei, & teſtis Evangelii ejus. Sec. l. iii. p. 651.

BOOK VIII. 1546.

SOME time before his death he felt his ſtrength declining, his conſtitution being worn out by a prodigious multiplicity of buſineſs, added to the labour of diſcharging his miniſterial function with unremitting diligence, to the fatigue of conſtant ſtudy, beſides the compoſition of works as voluminous as if he had enjoyed uninterrupted leiſure and retirement. His natural intrepidity did not forſake him at the approach of death; his laſt converſation with his friends was concerning the happineſs reſerved for good men in a future world, of which he ſpoke with the fervour and delight natural to one who expected and wiſhed to enter ſoon upon the enjoyment of it [a]. The account of his death filled the Roman Catholic party with exceſſive as well as indecent joy, and damped the ſpirits of all his followers; neither party ſufficiently conſidering that his doctrines were now ſo firmly rooted, as to be in a condition to flouriſh independent of the hand which firſt had planted them. His funeral was celebrated by order of the Elector of Saxony with extraordinary pomp. He left ſeveral children by his wife Catharine a Boria, who ſurvived him. Towards the end of the laſt century, there were in Saxony ſome of his deſcendents in decent and honourable ſtations [b].

[a] Sleid. 362. Seck. lib. iii. 632, &c.
[b] Seck. l. iii. 651.

Book VIII. 1546.

The Emperor endeavours to amuse and deceive the Protestants.

March 28.

The Emperor, meanwhile, purſued the plan of diſſimulation with which he had ſet out, employing every art to amuſe the Proteſtants, and to quiet their fears and jealouſies. For this purpoſe he contrived to have an interview with the Landgrave of Heſſe, the moſt active of all the confederates, and the moſt ſuſpicious of his deſigns. To him he made ſuch warm profeſſions of his concern for the happineſs of Germany, and of his averſion to all violent meaſures; he denied in ſuch expreſs terms, his having entered into any league, or having begun any military preparations which ſhould give cauſe of alarm to the Proteſtants, as ſeem to have diſpelled all the Landgrave's doubts and apprehenſions, and ſent him away fully ſatisfied of his pacific intentions. This artifice was of great advantage, and effectually anſwered the purpoſe for which it was employed. The Landgrave upon his leaving Spires, where he had been admitted to this interview, went to Worms, where the Smalkaldic confederates were aſſembled, and gave them ſuch a flattering repreſentation of the Emperor's favourable diſpoſition towards them, that they, too apt, as well from the temper of the German nation as from the genius of all great aſſociations or bodies of men, to be ſlow, and dilatory, and undeciſive in their deliberations, thought there was no neceſſity of

BOOK VIII. 1546.

taking any immediate meaſures againſt danger, which appeared to be diſtant or imaginary [c].

Proceedings of the council againſt the Proteſtants.

SUCH events, however, ſoon occurred, as ſtaggered the credit which the Proteſtants had given to the Emperor's declarations. The council of Trent, though ſtill compoſed of a ſmall number of Italian and Spaniſh prelates, without a ſingle deputy from many of the kingdoms which it aſſumed the right of binding by its decrees, being aſhamed of its long inactivity, proceeded now to ſettle articles of the greateſt importance. Having begun with examining the firſt and chief point in controverſy between the church of Rome and the Reformers, concerning the rule which ſhould be held as ſupreme and deciſive in matters of faith, the council, by its infallible authority, determined,

April 8.

"That the books to which the deſignation of *Apocryphal* hath been given, are of equal authority with thoſe which were received by the Jews and primitive Chriſtians into the ſacred canon; that the traditions handed down from the apoſtolic age, and preſerved in the church, are entitled to as much regard as the doctrines and precepts which the inſpired authors have committed to writing; that the Latin tranſlation of the Scriptures, made or reviſed by St.

[c] Sleid. Hiſt. 367, 373.

Jerome,

Jerome, and known by the name of the *Vulgate* translation, ſhould be read in churches, and appealed to in the ſchools as authentic and canonical. Againſt all who diſclaimed the truth of theſe tenets, anathemas were denounced in the name and by the authority of the Holy Ghoſt. The deciſion of theſe points, which undermined the main foundation of the Lutheran ſyſtem, was a plain warning to the Proteſtants what judgment they might expect when the council ſhould have leiſure to take into conſideration the particular and ſubordinate articles of their Creed [d].

THIS diſcovery of the council's readineſs to condemn the opinions of the Proteſtants, was ſoon followed by a ſtriking inſtance of the Pope's reſolution to puniſh ſuch as embraced them. The appeal of the canons of Cologne againſt their Archbiſhop having been carried to Rome, Paul eagerly ſeized on that opportunity, both of diſplaying the extent of his own authority, and of teaching the German eccleſiaſtics the danger of revolting from the eſtabliſhed church. As no perſon appeared in behalf of the Archbiſhop, he was held to be convicted of the crime of hereſy, and a Papal bull was iſſued, depriving him of his eccleſiaſtical dig- April 16.

[d] F. Paul, 141. Pallav. 206.

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nity, inflicting on him the ſentence of excommunication, and abſolving his ſubjects from the oath of allegiance which they had taken to him as their civil ſuperior. The countenance which he had given to the Lutheran hereſy was the only crime imputed to him, as well as the only reaſon aſſigned to juſtify the extraordinary rigour of this decree. The Proteſtants could hardly believe that Paul, how zealous ſoever to defend the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem, or to humble thoſe who invaded it, would have ventured to proceed to ſuch extremities againſt a Prince and Elector of the Empire, without having previouſly ſecured ſuch powerful protection as would render his cenſure ſomething more than an impotent and deſpicable ſally of reſentment. They were of courſe deeply alarmed at this ſentence againſt the Archbiſhop, conſidering it as a ſure indication of the malevolent intentions not only of the Pope, but of the Emperor, againſt the whole party[e].

Charles about to commence hoſtilities againſt the Proteſtants.

UPON this freſh revival of their fears, with ſuch violence as is natural to men rouzed from a falſe ſecurity, and conſcious of their having been deceived, Charles ſaw that it was now neceſſary to throw aſide the veil, and to declare openly what part he determined to act. By a

[e] Sleid. 354. F. Paul, 155. Pallavic. 224.

long

long ſeries of artifice and fallacy, he had gained ſo much time, that his meaſures, though not altogether ripe for execution, were greatly matured. The Pope, by his proceedings againſt the Elector of Cologne, as well as by the decree of the council, had precipitated matters into ſuch a ſituation, as rendered a breach between the Emperor and the Proteſtants almoſt unavoidable. Charles had now no choice left him but either to take part with them in overturning what the See of Rome had determined, or to ſupport the authority of the church openly by force of arms. Nor did the Pope think it enough to have brought the Emperor under a neceſſity of acting; he preſſed him to begin his operations, by promiſing to ſecond him with ſuch vigour as could not well fail of ſecuring his ſucceſs. Tranſported by his zeal againſt hereſy, Paul forgot all the prudent and cautious maxims of the Papal See, with regard to the danger of extending the Imperial authority beyond due bounds; and in order to cruſh the Lutherans, he was willing to contribute towards raiſing up a maſter that might one day prove formidable to himſelf as well as to the reſt of Italy.

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Negociates with the Pope.

BUT, beſides the certain expectation of aſſiſtance from the Pope, Charles was now ſecure from

Concludes a truce with Solyman.

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from any danger of interruption to his designs by the Turkish arms. His negociations at the Porte, which he had carried on with great assiduity since the peace of Crespy, were on the point of being terminated in such a manner as he desired. Solyman, partly in compliance with the French King, who, in order to avoid the disagreeable obligation of joining the Emperor against his ancient ally, laboured with great zeal to bring about an accommodation between them; and partly from its being necessary to turn his arms towards the east, where the Persians threatened to invade his dominions, consented without difficulty to a truce for five years. The chief article of it was, That each should retain possession of what he now held in Hungary; and Ferdinand, as a sacrifice to the pride of the Sultan, submitted to pay an annual tribute of fifty thousand crowns [e].

Gains Maurice, and other Princes of Germany.

BUT it was upon the aid and concurrence of the Germans themselves that the Emperor relied with the greatest confidence. The Germanic body, he knew, was of such vast strength, as to be invincible if it were united, and that it was only by employing its own force that he could hope to subdue it. Happily for him, the union of the several members in this great sys-

[e] Istuanhaffii Hist. Hung. 180. Mem. de Ribier. tom. i. 582.

tem

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tem was ſo feeble, the whole frame was ſo looſely compacted, and its different parts tended ſo violently towards ſeparation from each other, that it was almoſt impoſſible for it, on any important emergence, to join in a general or vigorous effort. In the preſent juncture, the ſources of diſcord were as many, and as various as had been known on any occaſion. The Roman Catholics, animated with a zeal in defence of their religion proportional to the fierceneſs with which it had been attacked, were eager to ſecond any attempt to humble thoſe innovators who had overturned it in many provinces, and endangered it in more. John and Albert of Brandenburg, as well as ſeveral other Princes, incenſed at the haughtineſs and rigour with which the Duke of Brunſwick had been treated by the confederates of Smalkalde, were impatient to reſcue him, and to be revenged on them. Charles obſerved, with ſatisfaction, the working of theſe paſſions in their minds, and counting on them as ſure auxiliaries whenever he ſhould think it proper to act, he found it, meanwhile, more neceſſary to moderate than to inflame their rage.

Holds a diet at Ratiſbon.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs, ſuch the diſcernment with which the Emperor foreſaw and provided for every event, when the diet of the Empire met at Ratiſbon. Many of the

Roman

BOOK VIII. 1546. Roman Catholic members appeared there in person, but most of the confederates of Smalkalde, under pretence of their being unable to bear the expence occasioned by the late unnecessary frequency of such assemblies, sent only deputies. Their jealousy of the Emperor, together with an apprehension that violence might, perhaps, be employed, in order to force their approbation of what he should propose in the diet, was the true cause of their absence. The speech with which the Emperor opened the diet was extremely artful. After professing, in common form, his regard for the prosperity of the Germanic body, and declaring, that, in order to bestow his whole attention upon the re-establishment of its order and tranquillity, he had at present abandoned all other cares, rejected the most pressing solicitations of his other subjects to reside among them, and postponed affairs of the greatest importance; he took notice, with some disapprobation, that his disinterested example had not been imitated; many members of chief consideration having neglected to attend an assembly to which he had repaired with such manifest inconvenience to himself. He then mentioned their unhappy dissentions about religion; lamented the ill success of his past endeavours to compose them; complained of the abrupt dissolution of the late conference, and craved their advice with regard to the best and

and moft effectual method of reftoring union to the churches of Germany, together with that happy agreement in articles of faith, which their anceftors had found to be of no lefs advantage to their civil intereft, than becoming their Chriftian profeffion. BOOK VIII. 1546.

By this gracious and popular method of confulting the members of the diet, rather than of obtruding upon them any opinion of his own, befides the appearance of great moderation, and the merit of paying much refpect to their judgment, the Emperor dexteroufly avoided difcovering his own fentiments, and referved to himfelf, as his only part, that of carrying into execution what they fhould recommend. Nor was he lefs fecure of fuch a decifion as he wifhed for, by referring it wholly to themfelves. The Roman Catholic members, prompted by their own zeal, or prepared by his intrigues, joined immediately in reprefenting that the authority of the council now met at Trent ought to be final in all matters of controverfy; that all Chriftians fhould fubmit to its decrees as the infallible rule of their faith; and therefore they befought him to exert the power, with which he was invefted by the Almighty, in protecting that affembly, and in compelling the Proteftants to acquiefce in its determinations. The Proteftants, on the other hand, prefented a memorial,

BOOK VIII. 1546. in which, after repeating their objections to the council of Trent, they proposed, as the only effectual method of deciding the points in dispute, that either a free general council should be assembled in Germany, or a national council of the Empire should be called, or a select number of divines should be appointed out of each party to examine and define articles of faith. They mentioned the recesses of several diets favourable to this proposition, and which had afforded them the prospect of terminating all their differences in this amicable manner; they now conjured the Emperor not to depart from his former plan, and by offering violence to their consciences, to bring calamities upon Germany, the very thought of which must fill every lover of his country with horror. The Emperor receiving this paper with a contemptuous smile, paid no farther regard to it. Having already taken his final resolution, and perceiving that nothing but force could compel them to acquiesce in it, he dispatched the Cardinal of Trent to Rome, in order to conclude an alliance with the Pope, the terms of which were already agreed on; he commanded a body of troops, levied on purpose in the Low-Countries, to advance towards Germany; he gave commissions to several officers for raising men in different parts of the Empire; he warned John and Albert of Brandenburg, that now was the proper time

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time of exerting themſelves, in order to reſcue their ally, Henry of Brunſwick, from captivity [f].

The Protestants alarmed.

ALL theſe things could not be tranſacted without the obſervation and knowledge of the Proteſtants. The ſecret was now in many hands; under whatever veil the Emperor ſtill affected to conceal his deſigns, his officers kept no ſuch myſterious reſerve, and his allies and ſubjects ſpoke out his intentions plainly. Alarmed with reports of this kind from every quarter, as well as with the preparations of war which they ſaw begun, the deputies of the confederates demanded audience of the Emperor, and, in the name of their maſters, required to know whether theſe military preparations were carried on by his command, and for what end, and againſt what enemy. To a queſtion put in ſuch a tone, and at a time when facts were become too notorious to be denied, it was neceſſary to give an explicit anſwer. Charles owned the orders which he had iſſued, and profeſſing his purpoſe not to moleſt any on account of religion who ſhould act as dutiful ſubjects; declared that he had nothing in view but to maintain the rights and prerogatives of the Imperial dignity, and, by puniſhing ſome factious members, to preſerve the ancient conſtitution of the

[f] Sleid. 374. Seck. iii. 658.

Empire

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Empire from being impaired or diſſolved by their irregular and licentious conduct. Though the Emperor did not name the perſons whom he charged with ſuch high crimes, and deſtined to be the objects of his vengeance, it was obvious that he had the Elector of Saxony, and Landgrave of Heſſe in view. Their deputies conſidering what he had ſaid, as a plain declaration of his hoſtile intentions, immediately retired from Ratiſbon [g].

The Emperor's treaty with the Pope.

THE Cardinal of Trent found it no difficult matter to treat with the Pope, who having at length brought the Emperor to adopt that plan which he had long recommended, aſſented with eagerneſs to every article that he propoſed. The league was ſigned a few days after the Cardinal's arrival at Rome. The pernicious hereſies which abounded in Germany, the obſtinacy of the Proteſtants in rejecting the holy council aſſembled at Trent, and the neceſſity of maintaining ſound doctrine, together with good order in the church, are mentioned as the motives of this union between the contracting parties. In order to check the growth of theſe evils, and to puniſh ſuch as had impiouſly contributed to ſpread them, the Emperor, having long and without ſucceſs made trial of gentler remedies, engaged inſtantly to take the field

July 26.

[g] Sleid. 376.

with

with a ſufficient army, that he might compel by force all who diſowned the council, or had apoſtatized from the religion of their forefathers, to return into the boſom of the church, and ſubmit with due obedience to the Holy See. He likewiſe bound himſelf not to conclude a peace with them during ſix months without the Pope's conſent, nor without aſſigning him his ſhare in any conqueſts which ſhould be made upon them; and that even after this period he ſhould not agree to any accommodation which might be detrimental to the church or to the intereſt of religion. On his part, the Pope ſtipulated to depoſit a large ſum in the bank of Venice towards defraying the expence of the war; to maintain, at his own charge, during the ſpace of ſix months, twelve thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe; to grant the Emperor, for one year, half of the eccleſiaſtical revenues throughout Spain; to authorize him, by a bull, to alienate as much of the lands, belonging to religious houſes in that country, as would amount to the ſum of five hundred thouſand crowns; and to employ not only ſpiritual cenſures, but military force againſt any Prince who ſhould attempt to interrupt or defeat the execution of this treaty [h].

NOTWITHSTANDING the explicit terms in which the extirpation of hereſy was declared to

[h] Sleid. 381. Pallav. 255. Dumont Corps Diplom. 11.

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Endeavours ſtill to conceal his intentions from the Proteſtants.

be the object of the war which was to follow upon this treaty, Charles ſtill endeavoured to perſuade the Germans that he had no deſign to abridge their religious liberty, but that he aimed only at vindicating his own authority, and repreſſing the inſolence of ſuch as had encroached upon it. With this view, he wrote circular letters, in the ſame ſtrain with his anſwer to the deputies at Ratiſbon, to moſt of the free cities, and to ſeveral of the Princes who had embraced the Proteſtant doctrines. In theſe he complained loudly, but in general terms, of the contempt into which the Imperial dignity had fallen, and of the preſumptuous as well as diſorderly behaviour of ſome members of the Empire. He declared that he now took arms, not in a religious, but in a civil quarrel; not to oppreſs any who continued to behave as quiet and dutiful ſubjects, but to humble the arrogance of ſuch as had thrown off all ſenſe of that ſubordination in which they were placed under him as head of the Germanic body. Groſs as this deception was, and manifeſt as it might have appeared to all who conſidered the Emperor's conduct with attention, it became neceſſary for him to make trial of its effect; and ſuch was the confidence and dexterity with which he employed it, that he derived the moſt ſolid advantages from this artifice. If he had avowed at once an intention of overturning the Proteſtant church,

church, and of reducing all Germany under its former ſtate of ſubjection to the Papal See, none of the cities or Princes who had embraced the new opinions could have remained neutral after ſuch a declaration, far leſs could they have ventured to aſſiſt the Emperor in ſuch an enterprize. Whereas by concealing, and even diſclaiming any intention of that kind, he not only ſaved himſelf from the danger of being overwhelmed by a general confederacy of all the Proteſtant ſtates, but he furniſhed the timid with an excuſe for continuing inactive, and the deſigning or intereſted with a pretext for joining him, without expoſing themſelves to the infamy of abandoning their own principles, or having an active hand in ſuppreſſing them. At the ſame time the Emperor well knew, that if he were enabled, by their aſſiſtance, to break the power of the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave, he might afterwards preſcribe what terms he pleaſed to the feeble remains of a party without union or leaders, who would then regret, too late, their miſtaken confidence in him, and their inconſiderate deſertion of their aſſociates.

The Pope diſconcerts his plan.

THE Pope, by a ſudden and unforeſeen diſplay of his zeal, had well nigh diſconcerted this plan which the Emperor had formed with ſo much care and art. Proud of having been the

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[i] Du Mont. Corps Diplom.

much ſolicitude, therefore, as the Emperor laboured to diſguiſe the purpoſe of the confederacy, did the Pope endeavour to publiſh their real plan, in order that they might come at once to an open rupture with the Proteſtants, that all hope of reconcilement might be cut off, and that Charles might be under fewer temptations, and have it leſs in his power than at preſent, to betray the intereſts of the church by any accommodation beneficial to himſelf[k].

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The Emperor, though not a little offended at the Pope's indiſcretion or malice in making this diſcovery, continued boldly to purſue his own plan, and to aſſert his intentions to be no other than what he had originally avowed. Several of the Proteſtant ſtates, whom he had previouſly gained, thought themſelves juſtified, in ſome meaſure, by his declarations, for abandoning their aſſociates, and even for giving aſſiſtance to him.

The preparation of the Proteſtants for their own defence.

But theſe artifices did not impoſe on the greater and ſounder part of the Proteſtant confederates. They clearly perceived it to be againſt the reformed religion that the Emperor had taken arms, and that not only the ſuppreſſion of it, but the extinction of the German

[k] F. Paul, 188. Thuan. Hiſt. i. 61.

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liberties, would be the certain consequence of his obtaining such an entire superiority as would enable him to execute his schemes in their full extent. They determined, therefore, to prepare for their own defence, and neither to renounce those religious truths, to the knowledge of which they had attained by means so wonderful, nor to abandon those civil rights which had been transmitted to them by their ancestors. In order to give the necessary directions for this purpose, their deputies met at Ulm, soon after their abrupt departure from Ratisbon. Their deliberations were now conducted with such vigour and unanimity, as the imminent danger which threatened them required. The contingent of troops, which each of the confederates was to furnish, having been fixed by the original treaty of union, orders were given for bringing them immediately into the field. Being sensible, at last, that through the narrow prejudices of some of their members, and the imprudent security of others, they had neglected too long to strengthen themselves by foreign alliances, they now applied with great earnestness to the Venetians and Swiss.

They solicit the aid of the Venetians.

To the Venetians they represented the Emperor's intention of overturning the present system of Germany, and of raising himself to absolute power in that country by means of foreign

foreign force furnifhed by the Pope; they warned them how fatal this event would prove to the liberties of Italy, and that by fuffering Charles to acquire unlimited authority in the one country, they would foon feel his dominion to be no lefs defpotic in the other; they befought them, therefore, not to grant a paffage through their territories to thofe troops, which ought to be treated as common enemies, becaufe by fubduing Germany they prepared chains for the reft of Europe. Thefe reflections had not efcaped the fagacity of thofe wife republicans. They had communicated their fentiments to the Pope, and had endeavoured to divert him from an alliance, which tended to render irrefiftible the power of a potentate, whofe ambition he already knew to be boundlefs. But they had found Paul fo eager in the profecution of his own plan, that he difregarded all their remonftrances[1]. This attempt to alarm the Pope having proved unfuccefsful, they would do nothing more towards preventing the dangers which they forefaw; and in return to the application from the confederates of Smalkalde, they informed them, that they could not obftruct the march of the Pope's troops through an open country, but by levying an army ftrong enough to face them in the field; and that this

[1] Adriani Iftoria di fuoi tempi, liv. v. p. 332.

 would

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would draw upon themſelves the whole weight of his as well as of the Emperor's indignation. For the ſame reaſon they declined lending a ſum of money, which the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave propoſed to borrow of them, towards carrying on the war [m].

Of the Swiſs.

THE demands of the confederates upon the Swiſs were not confined to the obſtructing of the entrance of foreigners into Germany; they required of them, as the neareſt neighbours, and cloſeſt allies of the Empire, to interpoſe with their wonted vigour for the preſervation of its liberties, and not to ſtand as inactive ſpectators, while their brethren were oppreſſed and enſlaved. But with what zeal ſoever the reformed Cantons might have been diſpoſed to act when the cauſe of the Reformation was in danger, the Helvetic body was ſo divided with regard to religion, as rendered it unſafe for the Proteſtants to take any ſtep without conſulting their aſſociates; and among them the emiſſaries of the Pope and Emperor had ſuch influence, that a reſolution of maintaining an exact neutrality between the contending parties, was the utmoſt which could be procured [n].

[m] Sleid. 381. Paruta Iſtor. Venet. tom. iv. 180. Lambertus Hortenſius de bello Germanico, apud Scardium, vol ii. p. 54.

[n] Sleid. 392.

BEING disappointed in both these applications, the Protestants, not long after, had recourse to the Kings of France and England; the approach of danger either overcoming the Elector of Saxony's scruples, or obliging him to yield to the importunities of his associates. The situation of the two Monarchs flattered them with hopes of success. Hostilities between them had continued for some time after the peace of Crespy. But becoming weary at last of a war, attended with no glory or advantage to either, they had lately terminated all their differences by a peace concluded at Campe near Ardres. Francis having with great difficulty procured his allies, the Scots, to be included in the treaty, in return for that concession he engaged to pay a great sum, which Henry demanded as due to him on several accounts, and he left Bologne in the hands of the English, as a pledge for his faithful performance of that article. But though the re-establishment of peace seemed to leave the two Monarchs at liberty to turn their attention towards Germany, so unfortunate were the Protestants, that they derived no immediate advantage from this circumstance. Henry appeared unwilling to enter into any alliance with them, but on such conditions as would render him not only the head, but the supreme director of their league; a pre-eminence which, as the bonds of union or interest between them were

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Of Francis I. and Henry VIII.

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were but feeble, and as he differed from them so widely in his religious sentiments, they had no inclination to admit [o]. Francis, more powerfully inclined by political considerations to furnish them with assistance, found his kingdom so much exhausted by a long war, and was so much afraid of irritating the Pope, by entering into close union with excommunicated Heretics, that he durst not undertake the protection of the Smalkaldic league. By this ill-timed caution, or superstitious deference to scruples, to which at other times he was not much addicted, he lost the most promising opportunity of mortifying and distressing his rival, which presented itself during his whole reign.

Protestants take the field with a great army.

BUT, notwithstanding their ill success in their negociations with foreign courts, the confederates found no difficulty at home, in bringing a sufficient force into the field. Germany abounded at that time in inhabitants; the feudal institutions, which subsisted in full force, enabled the nobles to call out their numerous vassals, and to put them in motion on the shortest warning; the martial spirit of the Germans, not broken or enervated by the introduction of commerce and arts, had acquired additional vigour during the continual wars in which they had been employed, for half a century, either in

[o] Rymer, xv. 93. Herbert, 258.

the pay of the Emperors, or Kings of France. Upon every opportunity of entering into ſervice, they were accuſtomed to run eagerly to arms; and to every ſtandard that was erected, volunteers flocked from all quarters [p]. Zeal ſeconded, on this occaſion, their native ardour. Men on whom the doctrines of the Reformation had made that deep impreſſion which accompanies truth when firſt diſcovered, prepared to maintain it with proportional vigour; and among a warlike people, it appeared infamous to remain inactive, when the defence of religion was the motive for taking arms. Accident combined with all theſe circumſtances in facilitating the levy of ſoldiers among the confederates. A conſiderable number of Germans, in the pay of France, being diſmiſſed by the King on the proſpect of peace with England, joined in a body the ſtandard of the Proteſtants [q]. By ſuch a concurrence of cauſes, they were enabled to aſſemble in a few weeks an army compoſed of ſeventy thouſand foot and fifteen thouſand horſe, provided with a train of an hundred and twenty cannon, eight hundred ammunition waggons, eight thouſand beaſts of burden, and ſix thouſand pioneers [r]. Nor was this army, one of the

[p] Seck. l. iii. 161. [q] Thuan. l. i. 68.

[r] Thuan. l. i. 601. Ludovici ab Avila & Zuniga Commentariorum de bel. Germ. lib. duo, Antw. 1550. 12mo. p. 13, a.

most

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most numerous, and undoubtedly the best appointed of any which had been levied in Europe during that century, raised by the united effort of the whole Protestant body. The Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Princes of Anhalt, and the Imperial cities of Ausbourg, Ulm, and Strasburg, were the only powers which contributed towards this great armament: The Electors of Cologne, of Brandenburg, and the Count Palatine, overawed by the Emperor's threats, or deceived by his professions, remained neuter. John marquis of Brandenburg Bareith, and Albert of Brandenburg Anspach, though both early converts to Lutheranism, entered openly into the Emperor's service, under pretext of having obtained his promise for the security of the Protestant religion; and Maurice of Saxony soon followed their example.

The inequality of the Emperor's forces to theirs.

THE number of their troops, as well as the amazing rapidity wherewith they had assembled them, astonished the Emperor, and filled him with the most disquieting apprehensions. He was, indeed, in no condition to resist such a mighty force. Shut up in Ratisbon, a town of no great strength, whose inhabitants being mostly Lutherans, would have been more ready to betray than to assist him, with only three thousand Spanish foot, who had served in Hungary, and

and about five thouſand Germans who had joined him from different parts of the Empire, he muſt have been overwhelmed by the approach of ſuch a numerous army, which he could not fight, nor even hope to retreat from it in ſafety. The Pope's troops, though in full march to his relief, had hardly reached the frontiers of Germany; the forces which he expected from the Low-Countries had not yet begun to move, and were even far from being complete [s]. His ſituation, however, called for more immediate ſuccour, nor did it ſeem practicable for him to wait for ſuch diſtant auxiliaries, with whom his junction was ſo precarious.

They imprudently negociate inſtead of acting.

BUT it happened fortunately for Charles, that the confederates did not avail themſelves of the advantage which lay ſo full in their view. In civil wars, the firſt ſteps are commonly taken with much timidity and heſitation. Men are ſolicitous, at that time, to put on the ſemblance of moderation and equity; they ſtrive to gain partizans by ſeeming to adhere ſtrictly to known forms; nor can they be brought, at once, to violate thoſe eſtabliſhed inſtitutions, which in times of tranquillity they have been accuſtomed to reverence; hence their proceedings are often feeble or dilatory when they ought to be moſt

[s] Sleid. 389. Avila, 8, a.

vigorous

BOOK VIII. 1546. vigorous and decisive. Influenced by these considerations, which, happily for the peace of society, operate powerfully on the human mind, the confederates could not think of throwing off that allegiance which they regularly owed to the head of the Empire, or of turning their arms against him without one solemn appeal more to his candour, and to the impartial judgment of their fellow-subjects. July 15. For this purpose, they addressed a letter to the Emperor, and a manifesto to all the inhabitants of Germany. The tenor of both was the same. They represented their own conduct with regard to civil affairs as dutiful and submissive; they mentioned the inviolable union in which they had lived with the Emperor, as well as the many and recent marks of his good-will and gratitude wherewithal they had been honoured; they asserted religion to be the sole cause of the violence which the Emperor now meditated against them; and in proof of this, produced many arguments to convince those who were so weak as to be deceived by the artifices with which he endeavoured to cover his real intentions; they declared their own resolution to risque every thing in maintenance of their religious rights, and foretold the dissolution of the German constitution, if the Emperor should finally prevail against them [t].

[t] Sleid. 384.

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The Emperor puts them under the ban of the Empire. July 20.

CHARLES, though in ſuch a perilous ſituation as might have inſpired him with moderate ſentiments, appeared as inflexible and haughty as if his affairs had been in the moſt proſperous ſtate. His only reply to the addreſs and manifeſto of the Proteſtants, was to publiſh the ban of the Empire againſt the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heſſe, their leaders, and againſt all who ſhould dare to aſſiſt them. By this ſentence, the ultimate and moſt rigorous one which the German juriſprudence has provided for the puniſhment of traitors, or enemies to their country, they were declared rebels and outlaws, and deprived of every privilege which they enjoyed as members of the Germanic body; their goods were confiſcated; their ſubjects abſolved from their oath of allegiance; and it became not only lawful but meritorious to invade their territories. The nobles, and free cities, who framed or perfected the conſtitution of the German government, had not been ſo negligent of their own ſafety and privileges as to truſt the Emperor with this formidable juriſdiction. The authority of a diet of the Empire ought to have been interpoſed before any of its members could be put under the ban. But Charles overlooked that formality, well knowing that, if his arms were crowned with ſucceſs, there would remain none who would have either power or courage

to

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to call in queſtion what he had done[u]. The Emperor, however, did not found his ſentence againſt the Elector and Landgrave on their revolt from the eſtabliſhed church, or their conduct with regard to religion; he affected to aſſign for it reaſons purely civil, and theſe too expreſſed in ſuch general and ambiguous terms, without ſpecifying the nature or circumſtances of their guilt, as rendered it more like an act of deſpotic power than of a legal and limited juriſdiction. Nor was it altogether from choice, or to conceal his intentions, that Charles had recourſe to the ambiguity of general expreſſions; he durſt not mention too particularly the cauſes of his ſentence, as every action which he could have charged upon the Elector and Landgrave as a crime, might have been employed with equal juſtice to condemn many of the Proteſtants whom he ſtill pretended to conſider as faithful ſubjects, and whom it would have been extremely imprudent to alarm or diſguſt.

They declare war againſt Charles.

THE confederates, now perceiving all hopes of accommodation to be at an end, had only to chuſe whether they would ſubmit without reſerve to the Emperor's will, or proceed to open hoſtilities. They were not deſtitute of public ſpirit and reſolution to make the proper choice.

[u] Sleid. 386. Du Mont. Corps Diplom. iv. p. 11. 314. Pfeffel Hiſt. Abregè du Droit Publ. 168. 736. 158.

A few

A few days after the ban of the Empire was published, they, according to the cuſtom of that age, ſent a herald to the Imperial camp with a ſolemn declaration of war againſt Charles, to whom they no longer gave any other title than that of pretended Emperor, and renounced all allegiance, homage or duty which he might claim, or they had hitherto yielded to him. But previous to this formality, part of their troops had begun to act. The command of a conſiderable body of men raiſed by the city of Augſburg having been given to Sebaſtian Schertel, a ſoldier of fortune, who by the booty that he got when the Imperialiſts plundered Rome, together with the merit of long ſervice, had acquired wealth and authority which placed him on a level with the chief of the German nobles: that gallant veteran reſolved before he joined the main body of the confederates, to attempt ſomething ſuitable to his former fame and to the expectation of his countrymen. As the Pope's forces were haſtening towards Tyrol, in order to penetrate into Germany by the narrow paſſes through the mountains which run acroſs that country, he advanced thither with the utmoſt rapidity, and ſeized Ehrenberg and Cuffſtein, two ſtrong caſtles which commanded the principal defiles. Without ſtopping a moment, he continued his march towards Inſpruck, by getting poſſeſſion of which he would have obliged

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Their firſt operations,

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the Italians to ſtop ſhort, and with a ſmall body of men could have reſiſted all the efforts of the greateſt armies. Caſtlealto, the governor of Trent, knowing what a fatal blow this would be to the Emperor, all whoſe deſigns muſt have proved abortive if his Italian auxiliaries had been intercepted, raiſed a few troops with the utmoſt diſpatch, and threw himſelf into the town. Schertel, however, did not abandon the enterprize, and was preparing to attack the place, when the intelligence of the approach of the Italians, and an order from the Elector and Landgrave obliged him to deſiſt. By his retreat the paſſes were left open, and the Italians entered Germany without any oppoſition, but from the garriſons which Schertel had placed in Ehrenberg and Cuffſtein, and theſe having no hopes of being relieved, ſurrendered, after a ſhort reſiſtance[x] *.

NOR

[x] Seckend. lib. ii. 70. Adriani Iſtoria di ſuoi tempi, lib. 335.

* Seckendorf the induſtrious author of the Commentarius Apologeticus de Lutheraniſmo, whom I have ſo long and ſafely followed as my guide in German affairs, was deſcended from Schertel. With the care and ſolicitude of a German, who was himſelf of noble birth, Seckendorf has publiſhed a long digreſſion concerning his anceſtor, calculated chiefly to ſhew how Schertel was ennobled, and his poſterity allied to many of the moſt ancient families in the Empire. Among other curious particulars, he gives us an account of his wealth, the chief ſource of which was the

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and ill conduct.

Nor was the recalling of Schertel the only error of which the confederates were guilty. As the ſupreme command of their army was committed, in terms of the league of Smalkalde, to the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heſſe with equal authority, all the inconveniencies ariſing from a divided and co-ordinate juriſdiction, which is always of fatal conſequence in the operations of war, were immediately felt. The Elector, though intrepid in his own perſon to exceſs, and moſt ardently zealous in the cauſe, was ſlow in deliberating, uncertain as well as irreſolute in his determinations, and conſtantly preferred meaſures which were cautious and ſafe, to ſuch as were bold or deciſive. The Landgrave, of a more active and enterprizing nature, formed all his reſolutions with promptitude, wiſhed to execute them with ſpirit, and uniformly preferred ſuch ſchemes as tended to bring the conteſt to a ſpeedy iſſue. Thus their maxims, with regard to the conduct of the war, differed as widely as thoſe by which they were influenced in preparing for it. Such perpetual contrariety in their ſentiments gave riſe, imper-

the plunder he got at Rome. His landed eſtate was ſold by his grandſons for ſix hundred thouſand florins. By this we may form ſome idea of the riches amaſſed by the *Condottieri*, or commanders of mercenary bands in that age. At the taking of Rome Schertel was only a captain. Seckend. lib. ii. 73.

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ceptibly, to jealousy and the spirit of contention. These multiplied the dissensions flowing from the incompatibility of their natural temper, and rendered them more violent. The other members of the league considering themselves as independant, and subject to the Elector and Landgrave, only in consequence of the articles of a voluntary confederacy, did not long retain a proper veneration for commanders, who proceeded with so little unanimity; and the numerous army of the Protestants, like a vast machine whose parts are ill compacted, and which is destitute of any power sufficient to move and regulate the whole, acted with no consistency, vigour or effect.

The Pope's troops join the Emperor.

THE Emperor, who was afraid that, by remaining at Ratisbon, he might render it impossible for the Pope's forces to join him, having boldly advanced to Landshut on the Iser, the confederates lost some days in deliberating whether it was proper to follow him into the territories of the Duke of Bavaria, a neutral Prince. When at last they surmounted that scruple, and began to move towards his camp, they suddenly abandoned the design, and hastened to attack Ratisbon, in which town Charles could leave only a small garrison. Meanwhile the papal troops, amounting fully to that number which Paul had stipulated to furnish, reached Landshut,

and

and were ſoon followed by ſix thouſand Spaniards of the veteran bands ſtationed in Naples. The confederates, after Schertel's ſpirited but fruitleſs expedition, ſeem to have permitted theſe forces to advance unmoleſted to the place of rendezvous, without any attempt to attack either them or the Emperor ſeparately, or to prevent their junction [x]. The Imperial army amounted now to thirty-ſix thouſand men, and was ſtill more formidable by the diſcipline and valour of the troops, than by their number. Avila, commendador of Alcantara, who had been preſent in all the wars carried on by Charles, and had ſerved in the armies which gained the memorable victory at Pavia, which conquered Tunis, and invaded France, gives this the preference to any martial force he had ever ſeen aſſembled [y]. Octavio Farneſe, the Pope's grandſon, aſſiſted by the ableſt officers formed in the long wars between Charles and Francis, commanded the Italian auxiliaries. His brother, the Cardinal Farneſe, accompanied him, as papal legate; and in order to give the war the appearance of a religious enterprize, he propoſed to march at the head of the army, with a croſs carried before him, and to publiſh Indulgences wherever he came, to all who ſhould give them any aſſiſtance,

[x] Adriani Iſtoria di ſuoi tempi, lib. v. 340.
[y] Avila, 18.

BOOK VIII. 1546. as had anciently been the practice in the Crusades against the Infidels. But this the Emperor strictly prohibited, as inconsistent with all the declarations which he had made to the Germans of his own party; and the legate perceiving, to his astonishment, that the exercise of the Protestant religion, the extirpation of which he considered as the sole object of the war, was publicly permitted in the Imperial camp, soon returned in disgust to Italy [z].

The arrival of these troops enabled the Emperor to send such a reinforcement to the garrison of Ratisbon, that the confederates, relinquishing all hopes of reducing that town, marched towards Ingoldstadt on the Danube, near to which Charles was now encamped. Meanwhile they exclaimed loudly against the Emperor's notorious violation of the laws and constitution of the Empire, in having called in foreigners to lay waste Germany, and to oppress its liberties. As in that age, the dominion of the Roman See was so odious to the Protestants, that the name of the Pope alone was sufficient to inspire them with horror at any enterprize which he countenanced, and to raise in their minds the blackest suspicions, it came to be universally believed among them, that Paul, not satisfied with attacking them openly by force of arms, had dis-

[z] F. Paul, 191.

perfed

persed his emissaries all over Germany, to set on fire their towns and magazines, and to poison the wells and fountains of water. Nor did this rumour spread only among the vulgar, being extravagant as well as frightful enough to make a deep impression on their credulity; even the leaders of the party, blinded by their prejudices, published a declaration, in which they accused the Pope of having employed these Antichristian and diabolical arts against them [a]. These sentiments of the confederates were confirmed, in some measure, by the behaviour of the papal troops, who, thinking nothing too rigorous towards Heretics anathematized by the church, were guilty of great excesses in the Lutheran territories, and aggravated the calamities of war, by mingling with it all the cruelty of bigotted zeal.

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THE first operations in the field, however, did not correspond with the violence of those passions which animated individuals. The Emperor had prudently taken the resolution of avoiding an action with an enemy so far superior in number [b], especially as he foresaw that nothing could keep a body composed of so many and such dissimilar members, from falling to pieces, but the pressing to attack it with an inconsiderate precipitancy. The confederates, though it

The confederates advance towards the Imperial army.

[a] Sleid. 399. [b] Avila, 78, a.

BOOK VIII. 1546. was no leſs evident that to them every moment's delay was pernicious, were ſtill prevented by the weakneſs or diviſion of their leaders from exerting that vigour, with which their ſituation, as well as the ardour of their ſoldiers, ought to have inſpired them. Aug. 29. On their arrival at Ingoldſtadt, they found the Emperor in a camp not remarkable for ſtrength, and ſurrounded only by a ſlight entrenchment. Before the camp lay a plain of ſuch extent, as afforded ſufficient ſpace for drawing out their whole army, and bringing it to act at once. Every conſideration ſhould have determined them to have ſeized this opportunity of attacking the Emperor; and their vaſt ſuperiority in numbers, the eagerneſs of their troops, together with the ſtability of the German infantry in pitched battles, afforded them the moſt probable expectation of victory. The Landgrave urged this with great warmth, declaring that if the ſole command were veſted in him, he would terminate the war on that occaſion, and decide by one general action the fate of the two parties. But the Elector, reflecting on the valour and diſcipline of the enemy's forces, animated by the preſence of the Emperor, and conducted by the beſt officers of the age, would not venture upon an action, which he thought to be ſo doubtful, as the attacking ſuch a body of veterans on ground which they themſelves had choſen, and while covered by fortifications which,

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which, though imperfect, would afford them no ſmall advantage in the combat. Notwithſtanding his heſitation and remonſtrances, it was agreed to advance towards the enemy's camp in battle array, in order to make trial whether by that inſult, and by a furious cannonade which they began, they could draw the Imperialiſts out of their works. But the Emperor had too much ſagacity to fall into this ſnare. He adhered to his own ſyſtem with inflexible conſtancy; and drawing up his ſoldiers behind their trenches, that they might be ready to receive the confederates if they ſhould venture upon an aſſault, calmly waited their approach, and carefully reſtrained his own men from any excurſions or ſkirmiſhes that might bring on an engagement. Meanwhile, he rode along the lines, and addreſſing the troops of the different nations in their own language, encouraged them by the chearfulneſs of his voice and countenance; he expoſed himſelf in places of greateſt danger, and amidſt the warmeſt fire of the enemy's artillery, the moſt numerous that had hitherto been brought into the field by any army. Rouzed by his example, not a man quitted his ranks; it was thought infamous to diſcover any ſymptom of fear when the Emperor appeared ſo intrepid; and the meaneſt ſoldier plainly perceived, that their declining the com-

The Emperor declines a battle.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI

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bat at present was not the effect of timidity in their general, but the result of a well weighed caution. The confederates, after firing several hours on the Imperialists, with more noise and terror than execution, seeing no prospect of alluring them to fight on equal terms, retired to their own camp. The Emperor employed the night with such diligence in strengthening his works, that the confederates, returning to the cannonade next day, found that, though they had now been willing to venture upon such a bold experiment, the opportunity of making an attack with advantage was lost [c].

The Flemish troops join the Emperor.

AFTER such a discovery of their own feebleness or irresolution, and of the prudence as well as firmness of the Emperor's conduct, the confederates turned their whole attention towards preventing the arrival of a powerful reinforcement of ten thousand foot, and four thousand horse, which the count de Buren was bringing to the Emperor from the Low-Countries. But though that general had to traverse such an extent of country; though his route lay through the territories of several states warmly disposed to favour the confederates; though they were apprized of his approach, and by their vast su-

[c] Sleid. 395, 397. Avila, 27, a. Lamb. Hortens. ap. Scard. ii.

periority

periority in numbers might eaſily have detached a force ſufficient to overpower him, he advanced with ſuch rapidity, and by ſuch well concerted movements, while they oppoſed him with ſuch remiſſneſs, and ſo little military ſkill, that he conducted this body to the Imperial camp without any loſs [d]. BOOK VIII. 1546. Sept. 10.

AFTER the arrival of the Flemings, in whom he placed great confidence, the Emperor altered, in ſome degree, his plan of operations, and began to act more upon the offenſive, though he ſtill avoided a battle with the utmoſt induſtry. He made himſelf maſter of Neuburg, Dillingen, and Donawert on the Danube; of Nordlingen, and ſeveral other towns, ſituated on the moſt conſiderable ſtreams that fall into that mighty river. By this he got the command of a great extent of country, though not without being obliged to engage in ſeveral ſharp encounters, of which the ſucceſs was various, nor without the moſt imminent danger oftener than once of being drawn into a battle. In this manner the whole autumn was ſpent; neither party gained any remarkable ſuperiority over the other, and nothing was yet done towards bringing the war to a period. The Emperor had often foretold, with confidence, that diſcord and the want of

State of both armies.

[d] Sleid. 403.

money

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money would compel the confederates to disperse that unwieldy body, which they had neither abilities to guide, nor funds to support[e]; but though he waited with impatience for the accomplishment of his prediction, there was no prospect of that event being at hand. Meanwhile he himself began to suffer from the want of forage and provisions; even the Catholic provinces being so much incensed at the introduction of foreigners into the Empire, that they supplied them with reluctance, while the camp of the confederates abounded with a profusion of all necessaries, which the zeal of their friends in the adjacent countries furnished with the utmost liberality and good-will. Great numbers of the Italians and Spaniards, unaccustomed to the climate or food of Germany, were become unfit for service through sickness[f]. Considerable arrears were now due to the troops, who had scarcely received any money from the beginning of the campaign; the Emperor, experiencing on this as well as on former occasions, that his jurisdiction was more extensive than his revenues, and that the former enabled him to assemble a greater number of soldiers, than the latter were sufficient to pay. Upon all these accounts, he found it difficult to keep his army

[e] Belli Smalkaldici Commentarius Græco sermone scriptus a Joach. Camerario, ap. Freherum, vol. iii. p. 479.

[f] Camerar. ap. Freher. 483.

in the field; ſome of his ableſt generals, and even the Duke of Alva himſelf, perſevering and obſtinate as he uſually was in the proſecution of every meaſure, adviſing him to diſperſe his troops into winter-quarters. But as the arguments urged againſt any plan which he had adopted, rarely made much impreſſion upon the Emperor, he paid no regard to their opinion, and determined to continue his efforts in order to weary out the confederates; being well aſſured that if he could once oblige them to ſeparate, there was little probability of their uniting again in a body [g]. Still, however, it remained a doubtful point, whether his ſteadineſs was moſt likely to fail, or their zeal to be exhauſted. It was ſtill uncertain which party, by firſt dividing its forces, would give the ſuperiority to the other; when an unexpected event decided the conteſt, and occaſioned a fatal reverſe in the affairs of the confederates.

The ſchemes of Maurice of Saxony.

MAURICE of Saxony having inſinuated himſelf into the Emperor's confidence, by the arts which have already been deſcribed, no ſooner ſaw hoſtilities ready to break out between him and the confederates of Smalkalde, than vaſt proſpects of ambition began to open upon him. That portion of Saxony, which deſcended to

[g] Thuan. 83.

him

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him from his anceſtors, was far from ſatisfying his aſpiring mind; and he perceived with pleaſure the approach of civil war, as amidſt the revolutions or convulſions which it occaſions, opportunities which at other times are ſought in vain, of acquiring new power as well as additional dignity, preſent themſelves to an enterprizing ſpirit. As he was thoroughly acquainted with the ſtate of the two contending parties, and the qualities of their leaders, he did not heſitate long in determining on which ſide the greateſt advantages were to be expected. Having revolved all theſe things in his own mind, and having taken his final reſolution of joining the Emperor, he prudently determined to declare early in his favour; that, by the merit of this, he might acquire a title to a proportional recompence. With this view, he had repaired to Ratiſbon in the month of May, under pretext of attending the diet; and after many conferences with Charles or his miniſters, he concluded, though with the moſt myſterious ſecrecy, a treaty, in which he engaged to concur in aſſiſting the Emperor as a faithful ſubject; and Charles, in return, ſtipulated to beſtow on him all the ſpoils of the Elector of Saxony, his dignities as well as territories [h]. Hiſtory hardly records any

His league with the Emperor.

[h] Haræi. Annal. Brabant. vol. i. 638. Struvii Corp. 1048. Thuan. 84.

treaty which can be confidered as a more manifeft violation of the moft powerful principles which ought to influence human actions. Maurice, a profeffed Proteftant, at a time when the belief of religion, as well as zeal for its interefts, took ftrong poffeffion of every mind, binds himfelf to contribute his affiftance towards carrying on a war, which had manifeftly no other object than the extirpation of the Proteftant doctrines. He engages to take arms againft his father-in-law, and to ftrip his neareft relation of his honours and dominions. He joins a dubious friend againft a known benefactor, to whom his obligations were both great and recent. Nor was the Prince who ventured upon all this, one of thofe audacious politicians, who, provided they can accomplifh their ends, and fecure their intereft, difregard avowedly the moft facred obligations, and glory in contemning whatever is honourable or decent. Maurice's conduct, if the whole muft be afcribed to policy, was more artful and mafterly; he executed his plan in all its parts, and yet endeavoured to preferve, in every ftep which he took, the appearance of what was fair, and virtuous, and laudable. It is probable, from his fubfequent behaviour, that, with regard to the Proteftant religion at leaft, his intentions were upright, that he fondly trufted to the Emperor's promifes for its fecurity, but that, according to the fate of all who refine

too

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too much in policy, and who tread in dark and crooked paths, in attempting to deceive others, he himſelf was, in ſome degree, deceived.

His artifices in order to conceal his intentions.

HIS firſt care, however, was to keep theſe engagements with the Emperor cloſely concealed: and ſo perfect a maſter was he in the art of diſſimulation, that the confederates, notwithſtanding his declining all connections with them, and his remarkable aſſiduity in paying court to the Emperor, ſeemed to have entertained no ſuſpicion of his deſigns. Even the Elector of Saxony, when he marched at the beginning of the campaign to join his aſſociates, committed his dominions to Maurice's protection, which he, with an inſidious appearance of friendſhip, readily undertook[i]. But ſcarcely had the Elector taken the field, when Maurice began to conſult privately with the King of the Romans how to invade thoſe very territories, with the defence of which he was entruſted. Soon after, the Emperor ſent him a copy of the Imperial ban denounced againſt the Elector and Landgrave. As he was next heir to the former, and particularly intereſted in preventing ſtrangers from getting his dominions into their poſſeſſion, Charles required him, not only for his own ſake, but upon the allegiance and duty

[i] Struvii Corp. 1046.

which

which he owed to the head of the Empire, inſtantly to ſeize and detain in his hands the forfeited eſtates of the Elector; warning him, at the ſame time, that if he neglected to obey theſe commands, he ſhould be held as acceſſary to the crimes of his kinſman, and be liable to the ſame puniſhment [k].

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THIS artifice, which it is probable Maurice himſelf ſuggeſted, was employed by him in order that his conduct towards the Elector might ſeem a matter of neceſſity but not of choice, an act of obedience to his ſuperior, rather than a voluntary invaſion of the rights of his kinſman and ally. But in order to give ſome more ſpecious appearance to this thin veil with which he endeavoured to cover his ambition, he had called together, ſoon after his return from Ratiſbon, the ſtates of his country; and repreſenting to them that a civil war between the Emperor and confederates of Smalkalde was now become unavoidable, deſired their advice with regard to the part which he ſhould act in that event. They being prepared, no doubt, and tutored beforehand, as well as deſirous of gratifying their Prince, whom they both eſteemed and loved, gave ſuch counſel as they knew would be moſt agreeable; adviſing him to offer his mediation

[k] Sleid. 391. Thuan. 84.

 towards

BOOK VIII. 1546. towards reconciling the contending parties; but if that were rejected, and he could obtain proper security for the Protestant religion, they delivered it as their opinion that he ought, in all other points, to yield obedience to the Emperor. Upon receiving the Imperial rescript, together with the ban against the Elector and Landgrave, Maurice summoned the states of his country a second time; he laid before them the orders which he had received, and mentioned the punishment with which he was threatened in case of disobedience; he acquainted them that the confederates had refused to admit of his mediation, and that the Emperor had given him the most satisfactory declarations with regard to religion; he pointed out his own interest in securing possession of the electoral dominions, as well as the danger of allowing strangers to obtain an establishment in Saxony; and upon the whole, as the point under deliberation respected his subjects no less than himself, he desired to know their sentiments how he should steer in that difficult and arduous conjuncture. The states, no less obsequious and complaisant than formerly, relying on the Emperor's promises as a perfect security for their religion, proposed that, before he had recourse to more violent methods, they would write to the Elector, exhorting him, as the best means of appeasing the Emperor, and of preventing his dominions from being seized

by

by foreign or hostile powers, to give his consent that Maurice should take possession of them quietly and without opposition. Maurice himself seconded their arguments in a letter to the Landgrave, his father-in-law. Such an extravagant proposition was rejected with the scorn and indignation which it deserved. The Landgrave, in return to Maurice, taxed him with his treachery and ingratitude towards a kinsman to whom he was so deeply indebted; he treated with contempt his affectation of executing the imperial ban, which he could not but know to be altogether void, by the unconstitutional and arbitrary manner in which it had been issued; he besought him, not to suffer himself to be so far blinded by ambition, as to forget the obligations of honour and friendship, or to betray the Protestant religion, the extirpation of which out of Germany, even by the acknowledgment of the Pope himself, was the great object of the present war[1].

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BUT Maurice had proceeded too far to be diverted from pursuing his plan by reproaches or arguments. Nothing now remained but to execute with vigour, what he had hitherto carried on by artifice and dissimulation. Nor was his boldness in action inferior to his subtlety in contrivance.

He invades the territories of the Elector of Saxony. November.

[1] Sleid. 405, &c. Thuan. 85. Camarar. 484.

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trivance. Having assembled about twelve thousand men, he suddenly invaded one part of the electoral provinces, while Ferdinand, with an army composed of Bohemians and Hungarians, over-ran the other. Maurice, in two sharp encounters, defeated the troops which the Elector had left to guard his country; and improving these advantages to the utmost, made himself master of the whole Electorate, except Wittemberg, Gotha, and Eisenach, which being places of considerable strength, and defended by sufficient garrisons, refused to open their gates. The news of these rapid conquests soon reached the Imperial and confederate camps. In the former, their satisfaction with an event, which it was foreseen would be productive of the most important consequences, was expressed by every possible demonstration of joy. The latter was filled with astonishment and terror. The name of Maurice was mentioned with execration, as an apostate from religion, a betrayer of the German liberty, and a contemner of the most sacred and natural ties. Every thing that the rage or invention of the party could suggest, in order to blacken and render him odious; invectives, satires and lampoons, the furious declamations of their preachers, together with the rude wit of their authors, were all employed against him. While he, trusting to the arts which he had so long practised, as if his ac-

tions

tions could have admitted of any ſerious juſtification, publiſhed a manifeſto, containing the ſame frivolous reaſons for his conduct, which he had formerly alleged in the meeting of his ſtates, and in his letter to the Landgrave [m].

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The confederates make overtures of accommodation to the Emperor;

THE Elector, upon the firſt intelligence of Maurice's motions, propoſed to return home with his troops for the defence of Saxony. But the deputies of the league, aſſembled at Ulm, prevailed on him, at that time, to remain with the army, and to prefer the ſucceſs of the common cauſe before the ſecurity of his own dominions. At length the ſufferings and complaints of his ſubjects increaſed ſo much, that he diſcovered the utmoſt impatience to ſet out, in order to reſcue them from the oppreſſion of Maurice, and from the cruelty of the Hungarians, who having been accuſtomed to that licentious and mercileſs ſpecies of war which was thought lawful againſt the Turks, committed, wherever they came, the wildeſt acts of rapine and violence. This deſire of the Elector's was ſo natural and ſo warmly urged, that the deputies at Ulm, though fully ſenſible of the unhappy conſequences of dividing their army, durſt not refuſe their conſent, how unwilling ſoever to grant it. In this perplexity, they repaired to the

[m] Sleid. 409, 410.

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camp of the confederates at Giengen on the Brenz, in order to consult their constituents. Nor were they less at a loss what to determine in this pressing emergence. But, after having considered seriously the open desertion of some of their allies; the scandalous lukewarmness of others, who had hitherto contributed nothing towards the war; the intolerable load which had fallen, of consequence, upon such members as were most zealous for the cause, or most faithful to their engagements; the ill success of all their endeavours to obtain foreign aid; the unusual length of the campaign; the rigour of the season; together with the great number of soldiers, and even officers, who had, on that account, quitted the service; they concluded that nothing could save them, but either the bringing the contest to the immediate decision of a battle by attacking the Imperial army, or an accommodation of all their differences with Charles by a treaty. Such was the despondency and dejection which now oppressed the party, that of these two they chose what was most feeble and unmanly, empowering a minister of the Elector of Brandenburg to propound overtures of peace in their name to the Emperor.

which he rejects.

No sooner did Charles perceive this haughty confederacy, which had so lately threatened to drive him out of Germany, condescending to

make the firſt advances towards an agreement, than concluding their ſpirit to be gone, or their union to be broken, he immediately aſſumed the tone of a conqueror; and, as if they had been already at his mercy, would not hear of a negociation, but upon condition of the Elector of Saxony's conſenting previouſly to give up himſelf and his dominions abſolutely to his diſpoſal [n]. As nothing more intolerable or ignominious could have been preſcribed, even in the worſt ſituation of their affairs, it is no wonder that this propoſition was rejected by a party, humbled and diſconcerted rather than ſubdued. But though they refuſed to ſubmit tamely to the Emperor's will, they wanted ſpirit to purſue the only plan which could have preſerved their independence; and forgetting that it was the union of their troops in one body which had hitherto rendered the confederacy formidable, and had more than once obliged the Imperialiſts to think of quitting the field, they inconſiderately abandoned this advantage, which, in ſpite of the diverſion in Saxony, would ſtill have kept the Emperor in awe; and yielding to the Elector's intreaties, conſented to his propoſal of dividing the army. Nine thouſand men were left in the dutchy of Wurtemberg, in order to protect that province, as well as the

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The troops of the confederacy ſeparate.

[n] Hortenſius, ap. Scard. ii. 485.

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free cities of Upper Germany; a confiderable body marched with the Elector towards Saxony; but the greater part returned with their refpective leaders into their own countries, and were difperfed there [o].

Almoft all the members of it fubmit to the Emperor.

THE moment that the troops feparated, the confederacy ceafed to be the object of terror; and the members of it, who, while they compofed part of a great body had felt but little anxiety about their own fecurity, began to tremble when they reflected that they now ftood expofed fingly to the whole weight of the Emperor's vengeance. Charles did not allow them leifure to recover from their confternation, or to form any new fchemes of union. As foon as the confederates began to retire, he put his army in motion, and though it was now the depth of winter, he refolved to keep the field, in order to make the moft of that favourable juncture for which he had waited fo long. Some fmall towns, in which the enemy had left garrifons, immediately opened their gates. Norlingen, Rotenberg and Hall, Imperial cities, fubmitted foon after. Though Charles could not prevent the Elector from levying, as he retreated, large contributions upon the archbifhop of Mentz, the abbot of Fulda, and other ecclefiaftics [p], this was more than balanced by

[o] Sleid. 411. [p] Thuan. 88.

the

the ſubmiſſion of Ulm, one of the chief cities of Suabia, highly diſtinguiſhed by its zeal for the Smalkaldic league. As ſoon as an example was ſet of deſerting the common cauſe, the reſt of the members became inſtantly impatient to follow it, and ſeemed afraid leſt others, by getting the ſtart of them in returning to their duty, ſhould, on that account, obtain more favourable terms. The Elector Palatine, a weak Prince, who, notwithſtanding his profeſſions of neutrality, had, very prepoſterouſly, ſent to the confederates four hundred horſe, a body ſo inconſiderable as to be ſcarcely any addition to their ſtrength, but great enough to render him guilty in the eyes of the Emperor, made his acknowledgments in the moſt abject manner. The inhabitants of Augſburg, ſhaken by ſo many inſtances of apoſtacy, expelled the brave Schertel out of their city, and accepted ſuch conditions as the Emperor was pleaſed to grant them.

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THE Duke of Wurtemberg, though among the firſt who had offered to ſubmit, was obliged to ſue for pardon on his knees; and even after this mortifying humiliation, obtained it with difficulty [q]. Memmingen, and other free cities in the circle of Suabia, being now aban- 1547.

[q] Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. 589.

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doned by all their former aſſociates, found it neceſſary to provide for their own ſafety, by throwing themſelves on the Emperor's mercy. Straſburg and Frankfort on the Maine, cities far remote from the ſeat of danger, diſcovered no greater ſteadineſs than thoſe which lay more expoſed. Thus a confederacy, lately ſo powerful as to ſhake the Imperial throne, fell to pieces, and was diſſolved in the ſpace of a few weeks; hardly any member of that formidable combination now remaining in arms, but the Elector and Landgrave, whom the Emperor, having from the beginning marked out as the victims of his vengeance, was at no pains to reconcile. Nor did he grant thoſe who ſubmitted to him a generous and unconditional pardon. Conſcious of his own ſuperiority, he treated them both with haughtineſs and rigour. All the Princes in perſon, and the cities by their deputies, were compelled to implore mercy in the humble poſture of ſupplicants. As the Emperor laboured under great difficulties from the want of money, he impoſed heavy fines upon them, which he levied with moſt rapacious exactneſs. The Duke of Wurtemberg paid three hundred thouſand crowns; the city of Augſburg an hundred and fifty thouſand; Ulm an hundred thouſand; Frankfort eighty thouſand; Memmingen fifty thouſand; and the reſt in proportion to their abilities, or

The rigorous conditions impoſed by the Emperor.

their

their different degrees of guilt. They were obliged, besides, to renounce the league of Smalkalde; to furnish assistance, if required, towards executing the Imperial ban against the Elector and Landgrave; to give up their artillery and warlike stores to the Emperor; to admit garrisons into their principal cities and places of strength; and, in this disarmed and dependent situation, to expect the final award which the Emperor should think proper to pronounce when the war came to an issue [r]. But, amidst the great variety of articles dictated by Charles on this occasion, he, in conformity to his original plan, took care that nothing relating to religion should be inserted; and to such a degree were the confederates humbled or over-awed, that, forgetting the zeal which had so long animated them, they were solicitous only about their safety, without venturing to insist on a point, the mention of which they saw him avoiding with so much industry. The inhabitants of Memmingen alone made some feeble efforts to procure a promise of protection in the exercise of their religion, but were checked so severely by the Emperor's ministers, that they instantly fell from their demand.

[r] Sleid. 411, &c. Thuan. lib. iv. p. 125. Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. 606.

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THE Elector of Cologne, whom, notwithstanding the sentence of excommunication issued against him by the Pope, Charles had hitherto allowed to remain in possession of the archiepiscopal see, being now required by the Emperor to submit to the censures of the church, this virtuous and disinterested prelate, unwilling to expose his subjects, on his account, to the miseries of a war, voluntarily resigned that high dignity. With a moderation becoming his age and character, he chose to enjoy truth together with the exercise of his religion in the retirement of a private life, rather than to disturb society by engaging in a doubtful and violent struggle in order to retain his office [s].

Jan. 25.

The Elector returns to Saxony, and recovers possession of it.

MEANWHILE the Elector of Saxony reached the frontiers of his country. As Maurice could assemble no force equal to the army which accompanied him, he, in a short time, not only recovered possession of his own territories, but over-ran Misnia, and stripped his rival of all that belonged to him, except Dresden and Leipsic, which, being towns of some strength, could not be suddenly reduced. Maurice, obliged to quit the field, and to shut himself up in his capital, dispatched courier after courier to the

[s] Sleid. 418. Thuan. lib. iv. 128.

Emperor,

Emperor, reprefenting his dangerous fituation, and foliciting him with the moft earneft importunity to march immediately to his relief. But Charles, bufy at that time in prefcribing terms to fuch members of the league as were daily returning to their allegiance, thought it fufficient to detach Albert Marquis of Brandenburg-Anfpach with three thoufand men to his affiftance. Albert, though an enterprizing and active officer, was unexpectedly furprized by the Elector, who killed many of his troops, difperfed the remainder, and took him prifoner[t]. Maurice continued as much expofed as formerly; and if his enemy had known how to improve the opportunity which prefented itfelf, his ruin muft have been immediate and unavoidable. But the Elector, no lefs flow and dilatory when invefted with the fole command, than he had been formerly when joined in authority with a partner, never gave any proof of military activity but in this enterprize againft Albert. Inftead of marching directly towards Maurice, whom the defeat of his ally had greatly alarmed, he inconfiderately liftened to overtures of accommodation, which his artful antagonift propofed with no other intention than to amufe him, and to flacken the vigour of his operations.

[t] Avila, 99. 6. Mem. de Ribier. tom. i. 620.

SUCH

BOOK VIII. 1547. The Emperor prevented from attacking the Elector and Landgrave.

SUCH, indeed, was the posture of the Emperor's affairs that he could not march instantly to the relief of his ally. Soon after the separation of the confederate army, he, in order to ease himself of the burden of maintaining a superfluous number of troops, had dismissed the count of Buren with his Flemings[u], imagining that the Spaniards and Germans, together with the papal forces, would be fully sufficient to crush any degree of vigour that yet remained among the members of the league. But Paul, growing wise too late, began now to discern the imprudence of that measure, from which the more sagacious Venetians had endeavoured in vain to dissuade him. The rapid progress of the Imperial arms, and the ease with which they had broken a combination that appeared no less firm than powerful, opened at length his eyes, and made him not only forget at once all the advantages which he had expected from such a complete triumph over heresy, but placed, in the strongest light, his own impolitic conduct, in having contributed towards acquiring for Charles such an immense increase of power, as would enable him, after oppressing the liberties of Germany, to give law with absolute authority to all the states of Italy. The moment that he perceived his error, he

[u] Avila, 83. 6. Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. 592.

endeavoured

1547.
The Pope recalls his troops.

endeavoured to correct it. Without giving the Emperor any warning of his intention, he ordered Farnese, his grandson, to return instantly to Italy with all the troops under his command, and at the same time recalled the licence which he had granted Charles, of appropriating, to his own use, a large share of the church-lands in Spain. He was not destitute of pretences to justify this abrupt desertion of his ally. The term of six months, during which the stipulations in their treaty were to continue in force, was now expired; the league, in opposition to which their alliance had been framed, seemed to be entirely dissipated; Charles, in all his negociations with the Princes and cities which had submitted to his will, had neither consulted the Pope, nor had allotted him any part of the conquests which he had made, nor had communicated to him any share in the vast contributions that he had raised. He had not even made any provision for the suppression of heresy, or the re-establishment of the catholic religion, which were Paul's chief inducements to bestow the treasures of the church so liberally in carrying on the war. These colours, how specious soever, did not conceal from the Emperor that secret jealousy which was the true motive of the Pope's conduct. But, as Paul's orders with regard to the march of his troops were no less peremptory than unexpected, it was impossible

BOOK VIII. 1547. to prevent their retreat. Charles exclaimed loudly againſt his treachery, in abandoning him ſo unſeaſonably, while he was proſecuting a war undertaken in compliance with his earneſt ſolicitations, and from which, if ſucceſsful, ſo much honour and advantage would redound to the church. To complaints he added threats and expoſtulations. But Paul remained inflexible; his troops continued their march towards the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and in an elaborate memorial, intended as an apology for his behaviour, he diſcovered new and more manifeſt ſymptoms of alienation from the Emperor, together with a deep-rooted terror of his power[x]. Charles, weakened by the withdrawing of ſo great a body from his army, which was already much diminiſhed by the number of garriſons that he had been obliged to throw into the towns which had capitulated, found it neceſſary to recruit his forces by new levies, before he could venture to march in perſon towards Saxony.

A conſpiracy to overturn the government of Genoa.

THE fame and ſplendor of his ſucceſs could not have failed of attracting ſuch multitudes of ſoldiers into his ſervice from all the extenſive territories now ſubject to his authority, as muſt have ſoon put him in a condition of taking the field againſt the Elector; but the ſudden and violent eruption of a conſpiracy at Genoa, as

[x] F. Paul, 208. Pallavic. par. ii. p. 5. Thuan. 126.

well

well as the great revolutions which that event, extremely myſterious in its firſt appearances, ſeemed to portend, obliged him to avoid entangling himſelf in new operations in Germany, until he had fully diſcovered its ſource and tendency. The form of government which had been eſtabliſhed in Genoa, at the time when Andrew Doria reſtored liberty to his country, though calculated to obliterate the memory of former diſſenſions, and received at firſt with eager approbation, did not, after a trial of near twenty years, give univerſal ſatisfaction to theſe turbulent and factious republicans. As the entire adminiſtration of affairs was now lodged in a certain number of noble families, many envying them that pre-eminence, wiſhed for the reſtitution of a popular government, to which they had been accuſtomed; and though all reverenced the diſintereſted virtue of Doria, and admired his talents, not a few were jealous of that aſcendant which he had acquired in the councils of the commonwealth. His age, however, his moderation, and love of liberty, afforded ample ſecurity to his countrymen that he would not abuſe his power, nor ſtain the cloſe of his days by attempting to overturn that fabrick, which it had been the labour and pride of his life to erect. But that authority and influence which in his hands were innocent, they eaſily ſaw would prove deſtructive, if uſurped by

The object of the conſpirators.

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by any citizen of greater ambition, or leſs virtue. A citizen of this dangerous character had actually formed ſuch pretenſions, and with ſome proſpect of ſucceſs. Giannetino Doria, whom his grand uncle Andrew deſtined to be the heir of his private fortune, aimed likewiſe at being his ſucceſſor in power. His temper haughty, inſolent, and overbearing to ſuch a degree as would hardly have been tolerated in one born to reign, was altogether inſupportable in the citizen of a free ſtate; and the more ſagacious among the Genoeſe already feared and hated him as the enemy of thoſe liberties for which they were indebted to his uncle. While Andrew himſelf, blinded by that violent and undiſcerning affection which perſons in advanced age often contract for the younger members of their family, ſet no bounds to the indulgence with which he treated him; ſeeming leſs ſolicitous to ſecure and perpetuate the freedom of the commonwealth, than to aggrandize that undeſerving kinſman.

But whatever ſuſpicion of Doria's deſigns, or whatever diſſatisfaction with the ſyſtem of adminiſtration in the commonwealth, theſe circumſtances might have occaſioned, they would have ended, it is probable, in nothing more than murmurings and complaints, if John Lewis Fieſco count of Lavagna, obſerving this growing diſguſt,

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Fiesco count of Lavagna the head of the conspiracy.

disgust, had not been encouraged by it to attempt one of the boldest actions recorded in history. That young nobleman, the richest and most illustrious subject in the republic, possessed, in an eminent degree, all the qualities which win upon the human heart, which command respect, or secure attachment. He was graceful and majestic in his person; magnificent to profusion; of a generosity that prevented the wishes of his friends, and exceeded the expectations of strangers; of an insinuating address, gentle manners and a flowing affability. But under the appearance of these virtues, which seemed to form him for enjoying and adorning civil life, he concealed all the dispositions which mark men out for taking the lead in the most dangerous and dark conspiracies; an insatiable and restless ambition, a courage unacquainted with fear, and a mind that disdained subordination. Such a temper could ill brook that station of inferiority, wherein he was placed in the republick; and as he envied the power which the elder Doria had acquired, he was filled with indignation at the thoughts of its descending, like an hereditary possession, to Giannetino. These various passions, preying with violence on his turbulent and aspiring mind, determined him to attempt overturning that domination to which he could not submit.

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1547. Intrigues and preparations of the conspirators.

At first he thought of an alliance with Francis, and even proposed it to the French ambassador at Rome, as the most effectual means of accomplishing this; and after expelling Doria, together with the Imperial faction, by his assistance, he resolved to put the republic once more under the protection of that Monarch, hoping in return for that service to be entrusted with the principal share in the administration of government. But having communicated his scheme to a few chosen confidents, from whom he kept nothing secret, Verrina, the chief of them, a man of desperate fortune, capable alike of advising and executing the most audacious deeds, remonstrated with earnestness against the folly of exposing himself to the most imminent danger, while he allowed another to reap all the fruits of his success; and exhorted him warmly to aim himself at that pre-eminence in his country, to which he was destined by his illustrious birth, was called by the voice of his fellow-citizens, and would be raised by the zeal of his friends. This discourse opened such vast prospects to Fiesco, and so suitable to his genius, that abandoning his own plan, he eagerly adopted that of Verrina. The other persons present, though sensible of the hazardous nature of the undertaking, did not chuse to condemn what their patron had so warmly approved. It was instantly resolved, in this dark cabal, to assassinate

aſſaſſinate the two Dorias, as well as the principal perſons of their party, to overturn the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of government, and to place Fieſco on the ducal throne of Genoa. Time, however, and preparations were requiſite to ripen ſuch a deſign for execution; and while he was employed in carrying on theſe, Fieſco made it his chief care to guard againſt every thing that might betray his ſecret, or create ſuſpicion. The diſguiſe he aſſumed, was of all others the moſt impenetrable. He ſeemed to be abandoned entirely to pleaſure and diſſipation. A perpetual gaiety, diverſified by the purſuit of all the amuſements becoming his age and rank, engroſſed, in appearance, the whole of his time and thoughts. But amidſt this hurry of diſſipation, he proſecuted his plan with the moſt cool attention, neither retarding the deſign by a timid heſitation, nor precipitating the execution by an exceſs of impatience. He continued his correſpondence with the French ambaſſador at Rome, though without communicating to him his real intentions, that by his means he might ſecure the protection of the French arms, if hereafter he ſhould find it neceſſary to call them to his aid. He entered into a cloſe confederacy with Farneſe Duke of Parma, who being diſguſted with the Emperor for refuſing to grant him the inveſtiture of that dutchy, was eager to promote any meaſure that

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tended to diminiſh his influence in Italy, or to ruin a family ſo implicitly devoted to him as that of Doria. Being ſenſible that, in a maritime ſtate, the acquiſition of naval power was what he ought chiefly to aim at, he purchaſed four galleys from the Pope, who probably was not unacquainted with the deſign which he had formed, and did not diſapprove of it. Under colour of fitting out one of theſe gallies to ſail on a cruiſe againſt the Turks, he not only aſſembled a good number of his own vaſſals, but engaged in his ſervice many bold adventurers, whom the truce between the Emperor and Solyman had deprived of their uſual occupation and ſubſiſtence.

WHILE Fieſco was taking theſe important ſteps, he preſerved ſo admirably his uſual appearance of being devoted intirely to pleaſure and amuſement, and paid court with ſuch artful addreſs to the two Dorias, as impoſed not only on the generous and unſuſpicious mind of Andrew, but deceived Giannetino, who, conſcious of his own criminal intentions, was more apt to diſtruſt the deſigns of others. So many inſtruments being now prepared, nothing remained but to ſtrike the blow. Various conſultations were held by Fieſco with his confidents, in order to ſettle the manner of doing it with the greateſt certainty and effect. At firſt, they

propoſed

proposed to murder the Dorias and their chief adherents, during the celebration of high mass in the principal church; but as Andrew was often absent from these religious solemnities, on account of his great age, that design was laid aside. It was then concerted that Fiesco should invite the uncle and nephew, with all their friends whom they had marked out as victims, to his house; where it would be easy to cut them off at once without danger or resistance; but as Giannetino was obliged to leave the town on the day which they had chosen, it became necessary likewise to alter this plan. They at last determined to attempt by open force, what they found difficult to affect by stratagem, and fixed on the night between the second and third of January, for the execution of their enterprize. The time was chosen with great propriety; for as the Doge of the former year was to quit his office, according to custom, on the first of the month, and his successor could not be elected sooner than the fourth, the republic remained during that interval in a sort of anarchy, and Fiesco might with less violence take possession of the vacant dignity.

The conspirators assemble to execute their plan.

The morning of that day, Fiesco employed in visiting his friends, passing some hours among them with a spirit as gay and unembarrassed as at other times. Towards evening, he paid court

to the Dorias with his usual marks of respect, and surveying their countenance and behaviour with the attention natural in his situation, was happy to observe the perfect security in which they remained, without the least foresight or dread of that storm which had been so long a-gathering, and was now ready to burst over their heads. From their palace he hastened to his own, which stood by itself in the middle of a large court, surrounded by a high wall. The gates had been set open in the morning, and all persons, without distinction, were allowed to enter, but strong guards posted within the court suffered no one to return. Verrina, meanwhile, and a few persons trusted with the secret of the conspiracy, after conducting Fiesco's vassals, as well as the crews of his gallies into the palace in small bodies, with as little noise as possible, dispersed themselves through the city, and, in the name of their patron, invited to an entertainment the principal citizens whom they knew to be disgusted with the administration of the Dorias, and to have inclination as well as courage to attempt a change in the government. Of the vast number of persons who now filled the palace, a few only knew for what purpose they were assembled; the rest, astonished at finding, instead of the preparations for a feast, a court crowded with armed men, and apartments filled with the instruments of

war,

war, gazed on each other with a mixture of curiosity, impatience and terror.

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Fiesco's exhortations to them.

WHILE their minds were in this state of suspense and agitation, Fiesco appeared. With a look full of alacrity and confidence, he addressed himself to the persons of chief distinction, telling them, that they were not now called to partake of the pleasure of an entertainment, but to join in a deed of valour, which would lead them to liberty and immortal renown. He set before their eyes the exorbitant as well as intolerable authority of the elder Doria, which the ambition of Giannetino, and the partiality of the Emperor to a family more devoted to him than to their country, was about to enlarge and to render perpetual. This unrighteous domination, continued he, you have it now in your power to subvert, and to establish the freedom of your country on a firm basis. The tyrants must be cut off. I have taken the most effectual measures for this purpose. My associates are numerous. I can depend on allies and protectors if necessary. Happily the tyrants are as secure as I have been provident. Their insolent contempt of their countrymen has banished the suspicion and timidity which usually render the guilty quick-sighted to discern, as well as sagacious to guard against the vengeance which they deserve. They will now feel the blow, before

they

BOOK VIII. 1547. they fufpect any hoftile hand to be nigh. Let us then fally forth, that we may deliver our country by one generous effort, almoft unaccompanied with danger, and certain of fuccefs. Thefe words, uttered with that irrefiftible fervour which animates the mind when rouzed by great objects, made the defired impreffion on the audience. Fiefco's vaffals, ready to execute whatever their mafter fhould command, received his difcourfe with a murmur of applaufe. To many whofe fortunes were defperate, the licence and confufion of an infurrection afforded an agreeable profpect. Thofe of higher rank and more virtuous fentiments, durft not difcover the furprize or horror with which they were ftruck at the propofal of an enterprize no lefs unexpected than atrocious; as each imagined the other to be in the fecret of the confpiracy, and faw himfelf furrounded by perfons who waited only a fignal from their leader to perpetrate the greateft crime. With one voice then all applauded, or feigned to applaud the undertaking.

His interview with his wife.

Fiefco having thus fixed and encouraged his affociates, before he gave them his laft orders, he haftened for a moment to the apartment of his wife, a lady of the noble houfe of Cibo, whom he loved with tender affection, and whofe beauty and virtue rendered her worthy of his love.

The

The noiſe of the armed men who crowded the court and palace, having long before this reached her ears, ſhe concluded ſome hazardous enterprize to be in hand, and ſhe trembled for her huſband. He found her in all the anguiſh of uncertainty and fear; and as it was now impoſſible to keep his deſign concealed, he informed her of what he had undertaken. The proſpect of a ſcene ſo full of horror as well as danger, completed her agony; and foreboding immediately in her mind the fatal iſſue of it, ſhe endeavoured, by her tears, her intreaties, and her deſpair, to divert him from his purpoſe. Fieſco, after trying in vain to ſooth and to inſpire her with hope, broke from a ſituation into which an exceſs of tenderneſs had unwarily ſeduced him, though it could not ſhake his reſolution. "Farewel, he cried, as he quitted the apartment, you ſhall either never ſee me more, or you ſhall behold to-morrow every thing in Genoa ſubject to your power."

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They attack the city.

As ſoon as he rejoined his companions, he allotted each his proper ſtation; ſome were appointed to aſſault and ſeize the different gates of the city; ſome to make themſelves maſters of the principal ſtreets or places of ſtrength: Fieſco reſerved for himſelf the attack of the harbour where Doria's gallies were laid up, as the poſt of chief importance, and of greateſt danger.

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danger. It was now midnight, and the citizens ſlept in the ſecurity of peace, when this band of conſpirators, numerous, deſperate, and well armed, ruſhed out to execute their plan. They ſurprized without reſiſtance ſome of the gates. They got poſſeſſion of others after a ſharp conflict with the ſoldiers on guard. Verrina, with the galley which had been fitted out againſt the Turks, blocked up the mouth of the Darſena or little harbour where Doria's fleet lay. All poſſibility of eſcape being cut off by this precaution, when Fieſco attempted to enter the gallies from the ſhore to which they were made faſt, they were in no condition to make reſiſtance, as they were not only unrigged and diſarmed, but had no crew on board, except the ſlaves chained to the oar. Every quarter of the city was now filled with noiſe and tumult, all the ſtreets reſounding with the cry of *Fieſco* and *Liberty*. At that name, ſo popular and beloved, many of the lower rank took arms, and joined the conſpirators. The nobles and partizans of the ariſtocracy, aſtoniſhed or affrighted, ſhut the gates of their houſes, and thought of nothing but of ſecuring them from pillage. At laſt, the noiſe excited by this ſcene of violence and confuſion, reached the palace of Doria; Giannetino ſtarted immediately from his bed, and imagining that it was occaſioned by ſome mutiny among the ſailors, ruſhed out with a

few attendants, and hurried towards the harbour. The gate of St. Thomas, through which he had to paſs, was already in the poſſeſſion of the conſpirators, who, the moment he entered, fell upon him with the utmoſt fury, and murdered him on the ſpot. The ſame muſt have been the fate of the elder Doria, if Jerome de Fieſco had executed his brother's plan, and had proceeded immediately to attack him in his palace; but he, from the ſordid conſideration of preventing its being plundered amidſt the confuſion, having forbid his followers to advance, Andrew got intelligence of his nephew's death, as well as of his own danger; and mounting on horſeback, ſaved himſelf by flight. Meanwhile, a few ſenators had the courage to aſſemble in the palace of the republic [y]. At firſt, ſome of the moſt daring among them attempted to rally the ſcattered ſoldiers, and to attack a body of the conſpirators; but being repulſed with loſs, all agreed that nothing now remained, but to treat with the party which ſeemed to be irreſiſtible. Deputies were accordingly ſent to learn of Fieſco what were the conceſſions with which he would be ſatisfied, or rather to ſubmit to whatever terms he ſhould pleaſe to preſcribe.

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Cauſe of their miſcarriage.

But by this time Fieſco, with whom they were empowered to negociate, was no more. Juſt as he was going to leave the harbour, where

y Il palazza della Signoria.

every

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every thing had ſucceeded to his wiſh, that he might join his victorious companions, he heard ſome extraordinary uproar on board the Admiral galley. Alarmed at the noiſe, and fearing that the ſlaves might break their chains, and overpower his aſſociates, he ran thither; but the plank which reached from the ſhore to the veſſel happening to overturn, he fell into the ſea, whilſt he hurried forward too precipitately. Being loaded with heavy armour, he ſunk to the bottom, and periſhed in the very moment when he muſt have taken full poſſeſſion of every thing that his ambitious heart could deſire. Verrina was the firſt who diſcovered this fatal accident, and foreſeeing, at once, all its conſequences, concealed it with the utmoſt induſtry from every one but a few leaders of the conſpiracy. Nor was it difficult, amidſt the darkneſs and confuſion of the night, to have kept it ſecret, until a treaty with the ſenators ſhould have put the city in the power of the conſpirators. All their hopes of this were diſconcerted by the imprudence of Jerome Fieſco, who, when the deputies of the ſenate enquired for his brother, the count of Lavagna, that they might make their propoſals to him, replied with a childiſh vanity, "I am now the only perſon to whom that title belongs, and with me you muſt treat." Theſe words diſcovered as well to his friends as to his enemies what had happened, and made the

the impreſſion which might have been expected upon both. The deputies, encouraged by this event, the only one which could occaſion ſuch a ſudden revolution as might turn to their advantage, aſſumed inſtantly, with admirable preſence of mind, a new tone, ſuitable to the change in their circumſtances, and made high demands. While they endeavoured to gain time by protracting the negociation, the reſt of the ſenators were buſy in aſſembling their partizans, and in forming a body capable of defending the palace of the republic. On the other hand, the conſpirators, aſtoniſhed at the death of a man whom they adored and truſted, and placing no confidence in Jerome, a giddy youth, felt their courage die away, and their arms fall from their hands. That profound and amazing ſecrecy with which the conſpiracy had been concerted, and which had contributed hitherto ſo much to its ſucceſs, proved now the chief cauſe of its miſcarriage. The leader was gone, the greater part of thoſe who acted under him, knew not his confidents, and were ſtrangers to the object at which he aimed. There was no perſon among them whoſe authority or abilities entitled him to aſſume Fieſco's place, or to finiſh his plan; after having loſt the ſpirit which animated it, life and activity deſerted the whole body. Many of the conſpirators withdrew to their houſes, hoping that amidſt the darkneſs of the night they had

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paſſed unobſerved, and might remain unknown. Others ſought for ſafety by a timely retreat; and before break of day, moſt of them fled with precipitation from a city, which, but a few hours before, was ready to acknowledge them as maſters.

Tranquillity re-eſtabliſhed in Genoa.

NEXT morning every thing was quiet in Genoa; not an enemy was to be ſeen; few marks of the violence of the former night appeared, the conſpirators having conducted their enterprize with more noiſe than bloodſhed, and gained all their advantages by ſurprize, rather than by force of arms. Towards evening, Andrew Doria returned to the city, being met by all the inhabitants, who received him with acclamations of joy. Though the diſgrace as well as danger of the preceding night, were freſh in his mind, and the mangled body of his kinſman ſtill before his eyes, ſuch was his moderation as well as magnanimity, that the decree iſſued by the ſenate againſt the conſpirators, did not exceed that juſt meaſure of ſeverity which was requiſite for the ſupport of government, and was dictated neither by the violence of reſentment, nor the rancour of revenge[z]. *

AFTER

[z] Thuan. 93. Sigonii vita Andreæ Doria, 1196. La Conjuration du Comte de Fieſque, par Cardin. de Retz. Adriani Iſtoria, lib. vi. 369. Folietæ Conjuratio Jo. Lud. Fieſci ap. Græv. Theſ. Ital. i. 883.

* It is remarkable, that Cardinal de Retz compoſed, at the age of eighteen, a hiſtory of this conſpiracy, containing ſuch

1547.

The Emperor alarmed at this conspiracy.

AFTER taking the neceſſary precautions for preventing the flame, which was now ſo happily extinguiſhed, from breaking out anew, the firſt care of the ſenate was to ſend an ambaſſador to the Emperor, to give him a particular detail of what had happened, and to beg his aſſiſtance towards the reduction of Montobbio, a ſtrong fort on the hereditary eſtate of the Fieſci, in which Jerome had ſhut himſelf up. Charles was no leſs alarmed than aſtoniſhed at an event ſo ſtrange and unexpected. He could not believe that Fieſco, how bold or adventurous ſoever, durſt have attempted ſuch an enterprize, but on foreign ſuggeſtion, and from the hope of foreign aid. Being informed that the Duke of Parma was well acquainted with the plan of the conſpirators, he immediately ſuppoſed that the Pope could not be ignorant of a meaſure, which his ſon had countenanced. Proceeding from this to a farther conjecture, which Paul's cautious maxims of policy in other inſtances rendered extremely probable, he concluded that the French King muſt have known and approved of the deſign; and he began to apprehend that this

ſuch a diſcovery of his admiration of Fieſco and his enterprize, that it is not ſurprizing that a miniſter, ſo jealous and diſcerning as Richlieu, ſhould be led, by the peruſal of it, to predict the turbulent and dangerous ſpirit of that young Eccleſiaſtic. Mem. de Retz, tom. i. p. 13.

BOOK VIII. 1547. Suspends his operations in Germany.

ſpark might again kindle the flame of war which had raged ſo long in Italy. As he had drained his Italian territories of troops on account of the German war, he was altogether unprovided for reſiſting any hoſtile attack in that country; and on the firſt appearance of danger, he muſt have detached thither the greateſt part of his forces for its defence. In this ſituation of affairs, it would have been altogether imprudent in the Emperor to have advanced in perſon againſt the Elector, until he ſhould learn with ſome degree of certainty whether ſuch a ſcene were not about to open in Italy, as might put it out of his power to keep the field with an army ſufficient to oppoſe him.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK IX.

1547.

Francis jealous of the Emperor's power and success.

THE Emperor's dread of the hostile intentions of the Pope and French King did not proceed from any imaginary or ill grounded suspicion. Paul had already given the strongest proofs both of his jealousy and enmity. Charles could not hope, that Francis, after a rivalship of so long continuance, would behold the great advantages which he had gained over the confederate Protestants, without feeling his ancient emulation revive. He was not deceived in this conjecture. Francis had observed the rapid progress of his arms with deep concern, and though

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prevented hitherto, by circumſtances which have been mentioned, from interpoſing in order to check them, he was now convinced that, if he did not make ſome extraordinary and timely effort, Charles muſt acquire ſuch a degree of power as would enable him to give law to the reſt of Europe. This apprehenſion, which did not take its riſe from the envy of rivalſhip alone, but was entertained by the wiſeſt politicians of the age, ſuggeſted various expedients which might ſerve to retard the courſe of the Emperor's victories, and to form by degrees ſuch a combination againſt him as might put a ſtop to his dangerous career.

Negociates with the Proteſtants;

With this view, Francis inſtructed his emiſſaries in Germany to employ all their addreſs in order to revive the courage of the confederates, and to prevent them from ſubmitting to the Emperor. He made liberal offers of his aſſiſtance to the Elector and Landgrave, whom he knew to be the moſt zealous as well as the moſt powerful of the whole body; he uſed every argument, and propoſed every advantage which could either confirm their dread of the Emperor's deſigns, or determine them not to imitate the inconſiderate credulity of their aſſociates, in giving up their religion and liberties to his diſpoſal. While he took this ſtep towards continuing the civil war which raged in Germany, he endeavoured, likewiſe,

likewife, to ftir up foreign enemies againft the Emperor. He folicited Solyman to feize this favourable opportunity of invading Hungary, which had been drained of all the troops neceffary for its defence, in order to form the army againft the confederates of Smalkalde. He exhorted the Pope to repair, by a vigorous and feafonable effort, the error of which he had been guilty in contributing to raife the Emperor to fuch a formidable height of power. Finding Paul, both from the confcioufnefs of his own miftake, and his dread of its confequences, abundantly difpofed to liften to his exhortations, he availed himfelf of this favourable difpofition which the Pontiff began to difcover, as an argument to gain the Venetians. He endeavoured to convince them that nothing could fave Italy, and even Europe, from oppreffion and fervitude, but their joining with the Pope and him, in giving the firft beginning to a general confederacy, in order to humble that ambitious potentate, whom they had all equal reafon to dread.

Book IX. 1547. with Solyman; with the Pope and Venetians;

HAVING fet on foot thefe negociations in the fouthern courts, he turned his attention next towards thofe in the north of Europe. As the King of Denmark had particular reafons to be offended with the Emperor, Francis imagined that he would not be backward to approve of the league which he had projected; and left

with the Kings of Denmark and England.

Book IX. 1547. considerations of caution or prudence should restrain him from joining in it, he attempted to overcome these, by offering him the young Queen of Scots in marriage to his son[a]. As the ministers who governed England in the name of Edward VI. had openly declared themselves converts to the opinions of the Reformers, as soon as it became safe upon Henry's death to lay aside that disguise which his unforgiving bigotry had forced them to assume, Francis flattered himself that their zeal would not allow them to remain inactive spectators of the overthrow and destruction of those who professed the same faith with themselves. He hoped, that notwithstanding the struggles of faction incident to a minority, and the prospect of an approaching rupture with the Scots, he might prevail on them likewise to take part in the common cause[b].

While Francis employed such variety of expedients, and exerted himself with such extraordinary activity, to rouze the different states of Europe against his rival, he did not neglect what depended on himself alone. He levied troops in all parts of his dominions; he collected military stores; he contracted with the Swiss

[a] Mém. de Ribier, i. 600. 606.
[b] Mem. de Ribier, i. 635.

cantons

cantons for a confiderable body of men; he put his finances in admirable order; he remitted confiderable fums to the Elector and Landgrave; and took all the other fteps neceffary towards commencing hoftilities, on the fhorteft warning, and with the greateft vigour [c]. Book IX. 1547.

The Emperor greatly alarmed.

Operations fo complicated, and which required the putting fo many inftruments in motion, did not efcape the Emperor's obfervation. He was foon informed of Francis's intrigues in the feveral courts of Europe, as well as of his domeftic preparations; and fenfible how fatal an interruption a foreign war would prove to his defigns in Germany, he trembled at the profpect of that event. The danger, however, appeared to him as unavoidable as it was great. He knew the infatiable and well-directed ambition of Solyman, and that he always chofe the feafon for beginning his military enterprizes with prudence equal to the valour with which he conducted them. The Pope, as he had good reafon to believe, wanted not pretexts to juftify a rupture, nor inclination to begin hoftilities. He had already made fome difcovery of his fentiments, by expreffing a joy altogether unbecoming the head of the church, upon receiving an account of the advantage which the Elector of Saxony had

[c] Mem. de Ribier, i. 595.

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gained over Albert of Brandenburg; and as he was now ſecure of finding in the French King, an ally of ſufficient power to ſupport him, he was at no pains to conceal the violence and extent of his enmity [d]. The Venetians, Charles was well aſſured, had long obſerved the growth of his power with jealouſy, which, added to the ſolicitations and promiſes of France, might at laſt quicken their ſlow counſels, and overcome their natural caution. The Danes and Engliſh, it was evident, had both peculiar reaſon to be diſguſted, as well as ſtrong motives to act againſt him. But above all, he dreaded the active emulation of Francis himſelf, whom he conſidered as the ſoul and mover of any confederacy that could be formed againſt him; and, as that Monarch had afforded protection to Verrina, who ſailed directly to Marſeilles upon the miſcarriage of Fieſco's conſpiracy, Charles expected every moment the commencement of thoſe hoſtile operations in Italy, of which he conceived the inſurrection in Genoa to have been only the prelude.

Entertains hope from the declining ſtate of Francis's health.

But while he remained in this ſtate of ſuſpenſe and ſolicitude, there was one circumſtance which afforded him ſome proſpect of eſcaping the danger. The French King's health began to decline. A diſeaſe, the effect of his intemperance and inconſiderate purſuit of pleaſure,

[d] Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. 637.

preyed

preyed gradually on his conftitution. The preparations for war, as well as the negociations in the different courts, began to languifh, together with the Monarch who gave fpirit to both. The Genoefe, during that interval, reduced Montobbio, took Jerome Fiefco prifoner, and putting him to death, together with his chief adherents, extinguifhed all remains of the confpiracy. Several of the Imperial cities in Germany, defpairing of timely affiftance from France, fubmitted to the Emperor. Even the Landgrave feemed difpofed to abandon the Elector, and to bring matters to a fpeedy accommodation, on fuch terms as he could obtain. In the mean time, Charles waited with impatience the iffue of a diftemper, which was to decide whether he muft relinquifh all other fchemes, in order to prepare for refifting a combination of the greater part of Europe againft him, or whether he might proceed to invade Saxony, without interruption or fear of danger.

March.

Death of Francis, and reflections on his character and rivalfhip with Charles.

The good fortune, fo remarkably propitious to his family, that fome hiftorians have called it the *Star of the Houfe of Auftria*, did not defert him on this occafion. Francis died at Rambouillet, on the laft day of March, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign. During twenty-eight years of that time, an avowed rivalfhip fubfifted between him

BOOK IX. 1547. him and the Emperor, which involved not only their own dominions, but the greater part of Europe in wars, prosecuted with more violent animosity, and drawn out to a greater length than had been known in any former period. Many circumstances contributed to both. Their animosity was founded in opposition of interest, heightened by personal emulation, and exasperated not only by mutual injuries, but by reciprocal insults. At the same time, whatever advantage one seemed to possess towards gaining the ascendant, was wonderfully balanced by some favourable circumstance, peculiar to the other. The Emperor's dominions were of great extent, the French King's lay more compact; Francis governed his kingdom with absolute power; that of Charles was limited, but he supplied the want of authority by address: the troops of the former were more impetuous and enterprizing; those of the latter better disciplined, and more patient of fatigue. The talents and abilities of the two Monarchs were as different as the advantages which they possessed, and contributed no less to prolong the contest between them. Francis took his resolutions suddenly, prosecuted them at first with warmth, and pushed them into execution with a most adventurous courage; but being destitute of the perseverance necessary to surmount difficulties, he often abandoned his designs, or relaxed the vigour of pursuit,

ſuit, from impatience, and ſometimes from levity. Charles deliberated long, and determined with coolneſs; but, having once fixed his plan, he adhered to it with inflexible obſtinacy, and neither danger nor diſcouragement could turn him aſide from the execution of it. The ſucceſs of their enterprizes was as different as their characters, and was uniformly influenced by them. Francis, by his impetuous activity, often diſconcerted the Emperor's beſt laid ſchemes; Charles, by a more calm but ſteady proſecution of his deſigns, checked the rapidity of his rival's career, and baffled or repulſed his moſt vigorous efforts. The former, at the opening of a war or of a campaign, broke in upon his enemy with the violence of a torrent, and carried all before him; the latter, waiting until he ſaw the force of his rival begin to abate, recovered in the end not only all that he had loſt, but made new acquiſitions. Few of the French Monarch's attempts towards conqueſt, whatever promiſing aſpect they might wear at firſt, were conducted to an happy iſſue; many of the Emperor's enterprizes, even after they appeared deſperate and impracticable, terminated in the moſt proſperous manner. Francis was dazzled with the ſplendour of an undertaking; Charles was allured by the proſpect of its turning to his advantage.

THE

The degree, however, of their comparative merit and reputation, has not been fixed either by a ſtrict ſcrutiny into their abilities for government, or by an impartial conſideration of the greatneſs and ſucceſs of their undertakings; and Francis is one of thoſe Monarchs who occupies a higher rank in the temple of Fame, than either his talents or performances intitle him to hold. This pre-eminence he owed to many different circumſtances. The ſuperiority which Charles acquired by the victory of Pavia, and which from that period he preſerved through the remainder of his reign, was ſo manifeſt, that Francis's ſtruggle againſt his exorbitant and growing dominion was viewed by moſt of the other powers, not only with the partiality which naturally ariſes for thoſe who gallantly maintain an unequal conteſt, but with the favour due to one who was reſiſting a common enemy, and endeavouring to ſet bounds to a Monarch equally formidable to them all. The characters of Princes, too, eſpecially among their contemporaries, depend not only upon their talents for government, but upon their qualities as men. Francis, notwithſtanding the many errors conſpicuous in his foreign policy and domeſtic adminiſtration, was nevertheleſs humane, beneficent, generous. He poſſeſſed dignity without pride; affability free from meanneſs; and courteſy exempt from deceit. All

who had accefs to him, and no man of merit was ever denied that privilege, refpected and loved him. Captivated with his perfonal qualities, his fubjects forgot his defects as a Monarch, and admiring him as the moft accomplifhed and amiable gentleman in his dominions, they hardly murmured at acts of male-administration, which, in a Prince of lefs engaging difpositions, would have been deemed unpardonable. This admiration, however, muft have been temporary only, and would have died away, with the courtiers who beftowed it; the illufion arifing from his private virtues muft have ceafed, and pofterity would have judged of his public conduct with its ufual impartiality; but another circumftance prevented this, and his name hath been tranfmitted to pofterity with increafing reputation. Science and the arts had, at that time, made little progrefs in France. They were juft beginning to advance beyond the limits of Italy, where they had revived, and which had hitherto been their only feat. Francis took them immediately under his protection, and vied with Leo himfelf, in the zeal and munificence with which he encouraged them. He invited learned men to his court, he converfed with them familiarly, he employed them in bufinefs, he raifed them to offices of dignity, and honoured them with his confidence. That race of men, not more prone to complain when denied the refpect to which they fancy themfelves entitled,

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entitled, than apt to be pleaſed when treated with the diſtinction which they conſider as their due, thought they could not exceed in gratitude to ſuch a benefactor, and ſtrained their invention, and employed all their ingenuity in panegyric. Succeeding authors, warmed with their deſcriptions of Francis's bounty, adopted their encomiums, and refined upon them. The appellation of Father of Letters beſtowed upon Francis, hath rendered his memory ſacred among hiſtorians; and they ſeem to have regarded it as a ſort of impiety to uncover his infirmities, or to point out his defects. Thus Francis, notwithſtanding his inferior abilities, and want of ſucceſs, hath more than equalled the fame of Charles. The virtues which he poſſeſſed as a man, have entitled him to greater admiration and praiſe, than have been beſtowed upon the extenſive genius, and fortunate arts of a more capable, but leſs amiable rival.

Effects of Francis's death.

By his death, a conſiderable change was made in the ſtate of Europe. Charles, grown old in the arts of government and command, had now to contend only with younger Monarchs, who could not be regarded as an equal match for him, who had ſtood the encounter with Henry VIII. and Francis I. and come off with honour in all theſe different conteſts. By this event, he was eaſed of all his diſquietude, and was happy to find, that he might begin with ſafety thoſe

operations

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operations againſt the Elector of Saxony, which he had hitherto been obliged to ſuſpend. He knew the abilities of Henry II. who had juſt mounted the throne of France, to be greatly inferior to thoſe of his father, and foreſaw that he would be ſo much occupied for ſome time in diſplacing the late King's miniſters, whom he hated, and in gratifying the ambitious demands of his own favourites, that he had nothing to dread, either from his perſonal efforts, or from any confederacy which this unexperienced Prince could form.

Charles marches againſt the Elector of Saxony.

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But as it was uncertain how long ſuch an interval of ſecurity might continue, Charles determined inſtantly to improve it; and as ſoon as he heard of Francis's demiſe, he began his march from Egra on the borders of Bohemia. But the departure of the papal troops, together with the retreat of the Flemings, had ſo much diminiſhed his army, that ſixteen thouſand men were all he could aſſemble. With this inconſiderable body he ſet out on an expedition, the event of which was to decide what degree of authority he ſhould poſſeſs from that period in Germany: but as this little army conſiſted chiefly of the veteran Spaniſh and Italian bands, he did not, in truſting to them, commit much to the deciſion of chance; and even with ſo ſmall a force he had reaſon to entertain the moſt ſanguine hopes

Book IX. 1547. hopes of ſucceſs. The Elector, it is true, had levied an army greatly ſuperior in number; but neither the experience and diſcipline of his troops, nor the abilities of his officers, were to be compared with thoſe of the Emperor. The Elector, beſides, had already been guilty of an error, which deprived him of all the advantage which he might have derived from his ſuperiority in number, and was alone ſufficient to have occaſioned his ruin. Inſtead of keeping his forces united, he detached one great body towards the frontiers of Bohemia, in order to facilitate his junction with the malecontents of that kingdom, and cantoned a conſiderable part of what remained in different places of Saxony, where he expected the Emperor would make the firſt impreſſion, vainly imagining that theſe open towns, with ſmall garriſons, might be rendered tenable againſt an enemy.

Progreſs of his arms.

The Emperor entered the ſouthern frontier of Saxony, and attacked Altorf upon the Elſter. The folly of the meaſure which the Elector had taken was immediately ſeen, the troops poſted in that town ſurrendering without reſiſtance; and thoſe in all the other places between that and the Elbe, either imitated their example, or fled as the Imperialiſts approached. Charles, that they might not recover from the panic with which they ſeemed to be ſtruck, advanced with-

out losing a moment. The Elector, who had fixed his head-quarters at Meissen, continued in his wonted state of fluctuation and uncertainty. He even became more undetermined, in proportion as the danger drew near, and called for prompt and decisive resolutions. Sometimes he acted, as if he had resolved to defend the banks of the Elbe, and to hazard a battle with the enemy, as soon as the detachments which he had called in were able to join him. At other times, he abandoned this as rash and perilous, seeming to adopt the more prudent counsels of those who advised him to endeavour at protracting the war, and for that end to retire under the fortifications of Wittemberg, where the Imperialists could not attack him without manifest disadvantage, and where he might wait, in safety, for the succours which he expected from Mecklenburgh, Pomerania, and the Protestant cities on the Baltic. Without fixing upon either of these plans, he broke down the bridge at Meissen, and marched along the east bank of the Elbe to Muhlberg. There he deliberated anew, and, after much hesitation, adopted one of these middle schemes, which are always acceptable to feeble minds incapable of deciding. He left a detachment at Muhlberg to oppose the Imperialists, if they should attempt to pass at that place, and advancing a few miles with his main body, encamped there in expectation of the event, ac-

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cording to which he proposed to regulate his subsequent motions.

Passes the Elbe,

Charles, meanwhile, pushing forward incessantly, arrived the evening of the twenty-third of April on the banks of the Elbe, opposite to Muhlberg. The river, at that place, was three hundred paces in breadth, above four feet in depth, its current rapid, and the bank possessed by the Saxons was higher than that which he occupied. Undismayed, however, by all these obstacles, he called together his general officers, and, without asking their opinions, communicated to them his intention of attempting next morning to force his passage over the river, and to attack the enemy wherever he could come up with them. They all expressed their astonishment at such a bold resolution, and even the Duke of Alva, though naturally daring and impetuous, and Maurice of Saxony, notwithstanding his impatience to crush his rival the Elector, remonstrated earnestly against it. But the Emperor, confiding in his own judgment or good fortune, paid no regard to their arguments, and gave the orders necessary for executing his design.

Early in the morning, a body of Spanish and Italian foot marched towards the river, and began an incessant fire upon the enemy. The long

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long heavy muſkets uſed in that age, did execution on the oppoſite bank, and many of the ſoldiers, hurried on by a martial ardor in order to get nearer the enemy, ruſhed into the ſtream, and advancing breaſt-high, fired with a more certain aim, and with greater effect. Under cover of their fire, a bridge of boats was begun to be laid for the infantry; and a peaſant having undertaken to conduct the cavalry through the river by a ford with which he was well acquainted, they alſo were put in motion. The Saxons poſted in Muhlberg endeavoured to obſtruct theſe operations, by a briſk fire from a battery which they had erected; but as a thick fog covered all the low grounds upon the river, they could not take aim with any certainty, and the Imperialiſts ſuffered very little; at the ſame time the Saxons being much galled by the Spaniards and Italians, they ſet on fire ſome boats which had been collected near the village, and prepared to retire. The Imperialiſts perceiving this, ten Spaniſh ſoldiers inſtantly ſtript themſelves, and holding their ſwords with their teeth, ſwam acroſs the river, put to flight ſuch of the Saxons as ventured to oppoſe them, ſaved from the flames as many boats as were ſufficient to complete their own bridge, and by this ſpirited and ſucceſsful action, encouraged their companions no leſs than they intimidated the enemy.

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By this time, the cavalry, each trooper having a foot soldier behind him, began to enter the river, the light horſe marching in the front, followed by the men at arms, whom the Emperor led in perſon, mounted on a Spaniſh horſe, dreſſed in a ſumptuous habit, and carrying a javelin in his hand. Such a numerous body ſtruggling through a great river, in which, according to the directions of their guide, they were obliged to make ſeveral turns, ſometimes treading on a firm bottom, ſometimes ſwimming, preſented to their companions, whom they left behind, a ſpectacle equally magnificent and intereſting [d]. Their courage, at laſt, ſurmounted every obſtacle, no man betraying any ſymptom of fear, when the Emperor ſhared in the danger no leſs than the meaneſt ſoldier. The moment that they reached the oppoſite ſide, Charles, without waiting the arrival of the reſt of the infantry, advanced towards the Saxons with the troops which had paſſed along with him, who, fluſhed with their good fortune, and deſpiſing an enemy who had neglected to oppoſe them, when it might have been done with ſuch advantage, made no account of their ſuperior numbers, and marched on as to a certain victory.

[d] Avila, 115. a.

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Ill conduct of the Elector.

During all these operations, which necessarily consumed much time, the Elector remained inactive in his camp; and from an infatuation which appears to be so amazing, that the best informed historians impute it to the treacherous arts of his generals, who deceived him by false intelligence, he would not believe that the Emperor had passed the river, or could be so near at hand [e]. Being convinced, at last, of his fatal mistake, by the concurring testimony of eye-witnesses, he gave orders for retreating towards Wittemberg. But a German army, encumbered, as usual, with baggage and artillery, could not be put suddenly in motion. They had just begun to march when the light troops of the enemy came in view, and the Elector saw an engagement to be unavoidable. As he was no less bold in action than irresolute in council, he made the disposition for battle with the greatest presence of mind, and in the most proper manner; taking advantage of a great forest to cover his wings, so as to prevent his being surrounded by the enemy's cavalry, which were far more numerous than his own. The Emperor, likewise, ranged his men in order as they came up, and riding along the ranks, exhorted them with few but efficacious words to do their duty. It was with a very different spirit that the two ar-

Battle of Mulhausen.

[e] Camerar. ap. Freher. iii. 493. Struv. corp. hist. Germ. 1047, 1049.

 mies

Book IX. 1547. mies advanced to the charge. As the day, which had hitherto been dark and cloudy, happened to clear up at that moment, this accidental circumſtance made an impreſſion on the different parties correſponding to the tone of their minds; the Saxons, ſurprized and diſheartened, felt pain at being expoſed fully to the view of the enemy; the Imperialiſts, being now ſecure that the Proteſtant forces could not eſcape from them, rejoiced at the return of ſun-ſhine, as a certain preſage of victory. The ſhock of battle would not have been long or doubtful, if the perſonal courage which the Elector diſplayed, together with the activity which he exerted from the moment that the approach of the enemy rendered an engagement certain, and cut off all poſſibility of heſitation, had not revived in ſome degree the ſpirit of his troops. They repulſed the Hungarian light horſe who began the attack, and received with firmneſs the men at arms who next advanced to the charge; but as theſe were the flower of the Imperial army, were commanded by experienced officers, and fought under the Emperor's eye, the Saxons ſoon began to give way, and the light troops rallying at the ſame time and falling on their flanks, the flight became general. A ſmall body of choſen

The Elector defeated, and taken priſoner.

ſoldiers, among whom the Elector had fought in perſon, ſtill continued to defend themſelves, and endeavoured to ſave their maſter by retiring into

into the foreſt; but being ſurrounded on every ſide, the Elector, wounded in the face, exhauſted with fatigue, and perceiving all reſiſtance to be vain, ſurrendered himſelf a priſoner. He was conducted immediately towards the Emperor, whom he found juſt returned from the purſuit, ſtanding on the field of battle in the full exultation of ſucceſs, and receiving the congratulations of his officers, upon this complete victory obtained by his valour and conduct. Even in ſuch an unfortunate and humbling ſituation, the Elector's behaviour was equally magnanimous and decent. Senſible of his condition, he approached his conqueror without any of the ſullenneſs or pride, which would have been improper in a captive; and conſcious of his own dignity, he deſcended to no mean ſubmiſſion, unbecoming the high ſtation which he held among the German Princes. "The fortune of war, ſaid he, has made me your priſoner, moſt gracious Emperor, and I hope to be treated" ——Here, Charles raſhly interrupted him: "And am I then, at laſt, acknowledged to be Emperor? Charles of Ghent was the only title you lately allowed me. You ſhall be treated as you deſerve." At theſe words, he turned from him abruptly with an haughty air. To this cruel repulſe, the King of the Romans added reproaches in his own name, uſing expreſſions ſtill more ungenerous and inſulting. The Elector

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His harſh reception by the Emperor.

Book IX. 1547. tor made no reply; but, with an unaltered countenance, which discovered neither astonishment nor dejection, accompanied the Spanish soldiers appointed to guard him[f].

Charles's progress after his victory.

THIS decisive victory cost the Imperialists only fifty men. Twelve hundred of the Saxons were killed, chiefly in the pursuit, and a greater number taken prisoners. About four hundred kept in a body, and escaped to Wittemberg, together with the electoral Prince, who had likewise been wounded in the action. After resting two days in the field of battle, partly to refresh his army, and partly to receive the deputies of the adjacent towns, which were impatient to secure his protection by submitting to his will, the Emperor began to move towards Wittemberg, that he might terminate the war at once, by the reduction of that city. The unfortunate Elector was carried along in a sort of triumph, and exposed every where, as a captive, to his own subjects; a spectacle extremely afflicting to them who both honoured and loved him; though the insult was so far from subduing his firm spirit, that it did not even ruffle the wonted tranquillity and composure of his mind.

[f] Sleid. hist. 426. Thuan. 136. Hortensius de Bello German. ap. Scard. vol. ii. 498. Descript. Pugnæ Mulberg. ibid. p. 509. P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. xii. c. 13. p. 298.

As Wittemberg, the reſidence, in that age, of the electoral branch of the Saxon family, was one of the ſtrongeſt cities in Germany, and could not be taken, if properly defended, without great difficulty, the Emperor marched thither with the utmoſt diſpatch, hoping that while the conſternation occaſioned by his victory was ſtill recent, the inhabitants might imitate the example of their countrymen, and ſubmit to his power, as ſoon as he appeared before their walls. But Sybilla of Cleves, the Elector's wife, a woman no leſs diſtinguiſhed by her abilities than her virtue, inſtead of abandoning herſelf to tears and lamentation upon her huſband's misfortune, endeavoured, by her example as well as exhortations, to animate the citizens. She inſpired them with ſuch reſolution, that, when ſummoned to ſurrender, they returned a vigorous anſwer, warning the Emperor to behave towards their ſovereign with the reſpect due to his rank, as they were determined to treat Albert of Brandenburg, who was ſtill a priſoner, preciſely in the ſame manner that he treated him. The ſpirit of the inhabitants no leſs than the ſtrength of the city ſeemed now to render a ſiege in form neceſſary. After ſuch a ſignal victory it would have been diſgraceful not to have undertaken it, though at the ſame time the Emperor was deſtitute of every thing requiſite for carrying it on. But Maurice removed

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Inveſts Wittemberg.

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moved all difficulties, by engaging to furniſh proviſions, artillery, ammunition, pioneers, and whatever elſe ſhould be needed. Truſting to this, Charles gave orders to open the trenches before the town. It quickly appeared, that Maurice's eagerneſs to reduce the capital of thoſe dominions, which he expected as his reward for taking arms againſt his kinſman, and deſerting the Proteſtant cauſe, had led him to promiſe what exceeded his power to perform. A battering train was, indeed, carried ſafely down the Elbe from Dreſden to Wittemberg; but as Maurice had not ſufficient force to preſerve a ſecure communication between his territories and the camp of the beſiegers, Count Mansfeldt, who commanded a body of electoral troops, deſtroyed a convoy of proviſions and military ſtores, and diſperſed a band of pioneers deſtined for the ſervice of the Imperialiſts. This put a ſtop to the progreſs of the ſiege, and convinced the Emperor, that as he could not rely on Maurice's promiſes, recourſe ought to be had to ſome more expeditious as well as more certain method of getting poſſeſſion of the town.

The Emperor's ungenerous treatment of the Elector.

The unfortunate Elector was in his hands, and Charles was ungenerous and hard-hearted enough to take advantage of this, in order to make an experiment whether he might not bring about

about his deſign, by working upon the tenderneſs of a wife for her huſband, or upon the piety of children towards their parent. With this view, he ſummoned Sybilla a ſecond time to open the gates, letting her know that if ſhe again refuſed to comply, the Elector ſhould anſwer with his head for her obſtinacy. To convince her that this was not an empty threat, he brought his priſoner to an immediate trial. The proceedings againſt him were as irregular as the ſtratagem was barbarous. Inſtead of conſulting the ſtates of the Empire, or remitting the cauſe to any court, which, according to the German conſtitution, might have legally taken cognizance of the Elector's crime, he ſubjected the greateſt Prince in the Empire to the juriſdiction of a court-martial, compoſed of Spaniſh and Italian officers, and in which the unrelenting Duke of Alva, a fit inſtrument for any act of violence, preſided. This ſtrange tribunal founded its charge upon the ban of the Empire which had been iſſued againſt the priſoner, a ſentence pronounced by the ſole authority of the Emperor, and deſtitute of every legal formality which could render it valid; but preſuming him to be thereby manifeſtly convicted of treaſon and rebellion, the court-martial condemned him to ſuffer death by being beheaded. This decree was intimated to the Elector while amuſing himſelf in playing at Cheſs May 10.

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Chefs with Erneft of Brunfwick his fellow-prifoner. He paufed for a moment, though without difcovering any fymptom either of furprize or terror; and after taking notice of the irregularity as well as injuftice of the Emperor's proceedings; "It is eafy, continued he, to comprehend his fcheme. I muft die, becaufe Wittemberg will not furrender; and I fhall lay down my life with pleafure, if, by that facrifice, I can preferve the dignity of my houfe, and tranfmit to my pofterity the inheritance which belongs to them. Would to God, that this fentence may not affect my wife and children more than it intimidates me! and that they, for the fake of adding a few days to a life already too long, may not renounce honours and territories which they were born to poffefs [g]!" He then turned to his antagonift, whom he challenged to continue the game. He played with his ufual attention and ingenuity, and having beat Erneft, expreffed all the fatisfaction which is commonly felt on gaining fuch victories. After this he withdrew to his own apartment, that he might employ the reft of his time in fuch religious exercifes as were proper in his fituation [h].

It was not with the fame indifference, or compofure, that the account of the Elector's

[g] Thuan. i. 142. [h] Struvii corpus, 1050.

danger

danger was received in Wittemberg. Sybilla, who had ſupported with ſuch undaunted fortitude her huſband's misfortunes, while ſhe imagined that they could reach no farther than to diminiſh his power or territories, felt all her reſolution fail as ſoon as his life was threatened. Solicitous to ſave that, ſhe deſpiſed every other conſideration; and was willing to make any ſacrifice, in order to appeaſe an incenſed conqueror. At the ſame time, the Duke of Cleves, the Elector of Brandenburg, and Maurice, to none of whom Charles had communicated the true motives of his violent proceedings againſt the Elector, interceded warmly with him to ſpare his life. The firſt was prompted to do ſo merely by compaſſion for his ſiſter, and regard for his brother-in-law. The two other dreaded the univerſal reproach that they would incur, if, after having boaſted ſo often of the ample ſecurity which the Emperor had promiſed them with reſpect to their religion, the firſt effect of their union with him ſhould be the public execution of a Prince, who was juſtly held in reverence as the moſt zealous protector of the Proteſtant cauſe. Maurice, in particular, foreſaw that he muſt become the object of deteſtation to the Saxons, and could never hope to govern them with tranquillity, if he were conſidered by them as acceſſary to the death of his neareſt kinſman,

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The diſtreſs of his family.

Book IX. kinſman, in order that he might obtain poſſeſ-
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His treaty with Charles, by which he ſurrenders the Electorate;

WHILE they, from ſuch various motives, ſolicited Charles, with the moſt earneſt importunity, not to execute the ſentence; Sybilla, and his children, conjured the Elector, by letters as well as meſſengers, to ſcruple at no conceſſions that would extricate him out of the preſent danger, and deliver them from their fears and anguiſh on his account. The Emperor, perceiving that the expedient which he had tried began to produce the effect that he intended, fell by degrees from his former rigour, and allowed himſelf to ſoften into promiſes of clemency and forgiveneſs, if the Elector would ſhew himſelf worthy of his favour by ſubmitting to reaſonable terms. The Elector, on whom the conſideration of what he might ſuffer himſelf had made no impreſſion, was melted by the tears of a wife whom he loved, and could not reſiſt the
May 19. intreaties of his family. In compliance with their repeated ſolicitations, he agreed to articles of accommodation, which he would otherwiſe have rejected with diſdain. The chief of them were, that he ſhould reſign the Electoral dignity, as well for himſelf as for his poſterity, into the Emperor's hands, to be diſpoſed of entirely at his pleaſure; that he ſhould inſtantly put the Imperial troops in poſſeſſion of the cities

of

of Wittemberg and Gotha; that he ſhould ſet Book IX. Albert of Brandenburg at liberty without ranſom; that he ſhould ſubmit to the decrees of the Imperial chamber, and acquieſce in whatever reformation the Emperor ſhould make in the conſtitution of that court; that he ſhould renounce all leagues againſt the Emperor or King of the Romans, and enter into no alliance for the future, in which they were not comprehended. In return for theſe important conceſſions, the Emperor not only promiſed to ſpare his life, but to ſettle on him and his poſterity the city of Gotha and its territories, together with an annual penſion of fifty thouſand florins, payable out of the revenues of the electorate; and likewiſe to grant him a ſum in ready money to be applied towards the diſcharge of his debts. Even theſe articles of grace were clogged with the mortifying condition of his remaining the Emperor's priſoner during the reſt of his life[1]. To the whole, Charles had ſubjoined, that he ſhould ſubmit to the decrees of the Pope and council with regard to the controverted points in religion; but the Elector, though he had been perſuaded to ſacrifice all the objects which men commonly hold to be the deareſt and moſt valuable, was inflexible with regard to this point; and neither threats nor intreaties could

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and remains a priſoner.

[1] Sleid. 427. Thuan. i. 142. Du Mont Corps Diplom. iv. p. 11, 332.

prevail

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prevail to make him renounce what he deemed to be truth, or perſuade him to act in oppoſition to the dictates of his conſcience.

Maurice put in poſſeſſion of the Electoral dominions.

As ſoon as the Saxon garriſon marched out of Wittemberg, the Emperor fulfilled his engagements to Maurice; and in reward for his merit in having deſerted the Proteſtant cauſe, and having contributed with ſuch ſucceſs towards the diſſolution of the Smalkaldic league, he gave him poſſeſſion of that city, together with all the other towns in the electorate. It was not without reluctance, however, that he made ſuch a ſacrifice; the extraordinary ſucceſs of his arms had begun to operate, in its uſual manner, upon his ambitious mind, ſuggeſting new and vaſt projects for the aggrandizement of his family, towards the accompliſhment of which the retaining of Saxony would have been of the utmoſt conſequence. But as this ſcheme was not then ripe for execution, he durſt not yet venture to diſcloſe it; nor would it have been either ſafe or prudent to have offended Maurice, at that juncture, by ſuch a manifeſt violation of all the promiſes, which had ſeduced him to abandon his natural allies.

Negociations with the Landgrave.

The Landgrave, Maurice's father-in-law, was ſtill in arms; and though now left alone to maintain the Proteſtant cauſe, was neither a

feeble nor contemptible enemy. His dominions were of confiderable extent; his fubjects animated with zeal for the Reformation; and if he could have held the Imperialifts at bay for a fhort time, he had much to hope from a party whofe ftrength was ftill unbroken, whofe union as well as vigour might return, and which had reafon to depend, with certainty, on being effectually fupported by the King of France. The Landgrave thought not of any thing fo bold or adventurous; but being feized with the fame confternation which had taken poffeffion of his affociates, he was intent, only, how to procure favourable terms from the Emperor, whom he viewed as a conqueror, to whofe will there was a neceffity of fubmitting. Maurice encouraged this tame and pacific fpirit, by magnifying, on the one hand, the Emperor's power; by boafting, on the other, of his own intereft with his victorious ally; and by reprefenting the advantageous conditions which he could not fail of obtaining by his interceffion for a friend, whom he was fo folicitous to fave. Sometimes the Landgrave was induced to place fuch unbounded confidence in his promifes, that he was impatient to bring matters to a final accommodation. On other occafions, the Emperor's exorbitant ambition, reftrained neither by the fcruples of decency, nor the maxims of juftice, together with the recent and fhocking proof

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which he had given of this in his treatment of the Elector of Saxony, came so full into his thoughts, and made such a lively impression on them, that he broke off abruptly the negociations which he had begun; seeming to be convinced that it was more prudent to depend for safety on his own arms, than to confide in Charles's generosity. But this bold resolution, which despair had suggested to an impatient spirit, fretted by disappointments, was not of long continuance. Upon a more deliberate survey of the enemy's power, as well as his own weakness, his doubts and fears returned upon him, and together with them the spirit of negociating, and the desire of accommodation.

The conditions prescribed by the Emperor.

MAURICE, and the Elector of Brandenburg, acted as mediators between him and the Emperor; and after all that the former had vaunted of his influence, the conditions prescribed to the Landgrave were extremely rigorous. The articles with regard to his renouncing the league of Smalkalde, acknowledging the Emperor's authority, and submitting to the decrees of the Imperial chamber, were the same which had been imposed on the Elector of Saxony. Besides these, he was required to surrender his person and territories to the Emperor; to implore for pardon on his knees; to pay an hundred and fifty thousand crowns towards defraying

the expences of the war; to demolish the fortifications of all the towns in his dominions except one; to oblige the garrison which he placed in it to take an oath of fidelity to the Emperor; to allow a free passage through his territories to the Imperial troops as often as it shall be demanded; to deliver up all his artillery and ammunition to the Emperor; to set at liberty, without ransom, Henry of Brunswick, together with the other prisoners whom he had taken during the war; and neither to take arms himself, nor to permit any of his subjects to serve against the Emperor or his allies for the future [k].

To which he submits,

THE Landgrave ratified these articles, though with the utmost reluctance, as they contained no stipulation with regard to the manner in which he was to be treated, and left him entirely at the Emperor's mercy. Necessity, however, compelled him to give his assent. Charles, who had assumed the haughty and imperious tone of a conqueror, ever since the reduction of Saxony, insisted on an unconditional submission, and would permit nothing to be added to the terms which he had prescribed, that could in any degree limit the fulness of his power, or restrain him from behaving as he saw meet to-

[k] Sleid. 430. Thuan. l. iv. 146.

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[1] Du Mont Corps Diplom. iv. p. 11, 336.

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He repairs to the Imperial court.

This, together with the indiſpenſable obligation of performing what was contained in the articles of which he had accepted, removed his doubts and ſcruples, or made it neceſſary to get over them. He repaired, for that purpoſe, to the Imperial camp at Hall in Saxony, where a circumſtance occurred which revived his ſuſpicions and increaſed his fears. Juſt as he was about to enter the chamber of preſence, in order to make his public ſubmiſſion to the Emperor, a copy of the articles which he had approved of was put into his hands, in order that he might ratify them anew. Upon peruſing them, he perceived that the Imperial miniſters had added two new articles; one importing, that if any diſpute ſhould ariſe concerning the meaning of the former conditions, the Emperor ſhould have the right of putting what interpretation upon them he thought moſt reaſonable; the other, that the Landgrave was bound to ſubmit implicitly to the deciſions of the council of Trent. This unworthy artifice, calculated to ſurprize him into an approbation of articles, to which he had not the moſt diſtant idea of aſſenting, by propoſing them to him at a time when his mind was engroſſed and diſquieted with the thoughts of that humbling ceremony which he had to perform, filled the Landgrave with indignation, and made him fly out into all thoſe violent expreſſions of rage to which his temper was prone.

 With

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With ſome difficulty, the Elector of Brandenburg and Maurice prevailed at length on the Emperor's miniſters to drop the former article as unjuſt, and to explain the latter in ſuch a manner, that he could agree to it, without openly renouncing the Proteſtant religion.

The manner in which the Emperor received him.

THIS obſtacle being ſurmounted, the Landgrave was impatient to finiſh a ceremony which, how mortifying ſoever, had been declared neceſſary towards his obtaining pardon. The Emperor was ſeated on a magnificent throne, with all the enſigns of his dignity, ſurrounded by a numerous train of the Princes of the Empire, among whom was Henry of Brunſwick, lately the Landgrave's priſoner, and now, by a ſudden reverſe of fortune, a ſpectator of his humiliation. The Landgrave was introduced with great ſolemnity, and advancing towards the throne, fell upon his knees. His chancellor, who walked behind him, immediately read, by his maſter's command, a paper which contained an humble confeſſion of the crime whereof he had been guilty; an acknowledgment that he had merited on that account the moſt ſevere puniſhment; and abſolute reſignation of himſelf and his dominions to be diſpoſed of at the Emperor's pleaſure; a ſubmiſſive petition for pardon, his hopes of which were founded entirely on the Emperor's clemency; and it concluded

concluded with promiſes of behaving, for the future, like a ſubject, whoſe principles of loyalty and obedience would be confirmed, and would even derive new force from the ſentiments of gratitude which muſt hereafter fill and animate his heart. While the chancellor was reading this abject declaration, the eyes of all the ſpectators were fixed on the unfortunate Landgrave; few could behold a Prince, ſo powerful as well as high-ſpirited, ſuing for mercy in the poſture of a ſuppliant, without being touched with commiſeration, and perceiving ſerious reflections ariſe in their minds upon the inſtability and emptineſs of human grandeur. The Emperor viewed the whole tranſaction with an haughty unfeeling compoſure; and preſerving a profound ſilence himſelf, made a ſign to one of his ſecretaries to read his anſwer; the tenor of which was, That though he might have juſtly inflicted on him the grievous puniſhment which his crimes deſerved, yet, prompted by his own generoſity, moved by the ſolicitations of ſeveral Princes in behalf of the Landgrave, and influenced by his own penitential acknowledgments, he would not deal with him according to the rigour of juſtice, and would ſubject him to no penalty that was not ſpecified in the articles which he had already ſubſcribed. The moment the ſecretary had finiſhed, Charles turned away abruptly, without deigning to give the unhappy

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ſuppliant any ſign of compaſſion or reconcilement. He did not even deſire him to riſe from his knees; which the Landgrave having ventured to do unbidden, advanced towards the Emperor with an intention to kiſs his hand, flattering himſelf, that his guilt being now fully expiated, he might preſume to take that liberty. But the Elector of Brandenburg perceiving that this familiarity would be offenſive to the Emperor, interpoſed, and deſired the Landgrave to go along with him and Maurice to the Duke of Alva's apartments in the caſtle.

He is detained a priſoner.

He was received and entertained by that nobleman with the reſpect and courteſy due to ſuch a gueſt. But, after ſupper, while he was engaged in play, the Duke took the Elector and Maurice aſide, and communicated to them the Emperor's orders, that the Landgrave muſt remain a priſoner in that place under the cuſtody of a Spaniſh guard. As they had not hitherto entertained the moſt diſtant ſuſpicion of the Emperor's ſincerity or rectitude of intention, their ſurprize was exceſſive, and their indignation not inferior to it, on diſcovering how greatly they had been deceived themſelves, and how infamouſly abuſed, in having been made the inſtruments of deceiving and ruining their friend. They had recourſe to complaints, to arguments and to intreaties, in order to ſave

themſelves

themſelves from that diſgrace, and to extricate him out of the wretched ſituation into which he had been betrayed by too great confidence in them. But the Duke of Alva remained inflexible, and pleaded the neceſſity of executing the Emperor's commands. By this time it grew late, and the Landgrave, who knew nothing of what had paſſed, nor dreaded the ſnare in which he was entangled, prepared for departing, when the fatal orders were intimated to him. He was ſtruck dumb at firſt with aſtoniſhment, but after being ſilent a few moments, he broke out into all the violent expreſſions, which horror at injuſtice accompanied with fraud naturally ſuggeſts. He complained, he expoſtulated, he exclaimed; ſometimes inveighing againſt the Emperor's artifices as unworthy of a great and generous Prince; ſometimes cenſuring the credulity of his friends in truſting to Charles's inſidious promiſes; ſometimes charging them with meanneſs in ſtooping to lend their aſſiſtance towards the execution of ſuch a perfidious and diſhonourable ſcheme; and in the end he required them to remember their engagements to his children, and inſtantly to fulfil them. They, after giving way for a little to the torrent of his paſſion, ſolemnly aſſerted their own innocence and upright intention in the whole tranſaction, and encouraged him to hope, that, as ſoon as they ſaw the Emperor, they would obtain redreſs

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dress of an injury, which affected their own honour, no less than it did his liberty. At the same time, in order to sooth his rage and impatience, Maurice remained with him during the night, in the apartment where he was confined [m].

The Elector of Brandenburg and Maurice solicit in vain for his liberty.

NEXT morning, the Elector and Maurice applied jointly to the Emperor, representing the infamy to which they would be exposed throughout Germany, if the Landgrave were detained in custody; that they would not have advised, nor would he himself have consented to an interview, if they had suspected that the loss of his liberty was to be the consequence of his submission; that they were bound to procure his release, having plighted their faith to that effect, and engaged their own persons as sureties for his. Charles listened to their earnest remonstrances with the utmost coolness. As he now stood no longer in need of their services, they had the mortification to find that their former obsequiousness was forgotten, and little regard paid to their intercession. He was ignorant, he told them, of their particular or private transactions with the Landgrave, nor was his conduct to be regulated by these; though he knew well what he himself had promised, which was not that the

[m] Sleid. 433. Thuan. l. iv. 147. Struv. Corp. Hist. Germ. ii. 1052.

Landgrave

Landgrave ſhould be exempt from all reſtraint, Book IX.
but that he ſhould not be kept a priſoner dur- 1547.
ing life*.' Having ſaid this with a peremptory and deciſive tone, he put an end to the conference; and they ſeeing no probability, at that time, of making any impreſſion upon the Emperor, who ſeemed to have taken his reſolution deliberately, and to be obſtinately bent on adhering to it, were obliged to acquaint the unfortunate priſoner with the ill ſucceſs of their endeavours in his behalf. This diſappointment

* According to ſeveral hiſtorians of great name, the Emperor in his treaty with the Landgrave, ſtipulated that he would not detain him in any priſon. But in executing the deed, which was written in the German tongue, the Imperial miniſters fraudulently ſubſtituted the word *ewiger* inſtead of *einiger*, and thus the treaty, in place of a promiſe that he ſhould not be detained in *any* priſon, contained only an engagement that he ſhould not be detained in *perpetual* impriſonment. But authors, eminent for hiſtorical knowledge and critical accuracy have called in queſtion the truth of this common ſtory. The ſilence of Sleidan with regard to it, as well as its not being mentioned in the various memorials which he has publiſhed concerning the Landgrave's impriſonment, greatly favour this opinion. But as ſeveral books which contain the information neceſſary towards diſcuſſing this point, with accuracy, are written in the German language, which I do not underſtand, I cannot pretend to inquire into this matter with the ſame preciſion, with which I have endeavoured to ſettle ſome other contraverted facts that have occurred in the courſe of this hiſtory. See Struv. Corp. 1052. Moſheim's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 161, 162. Engl. Edition.

threw

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threw him into a new and more violent tranſport of rage, ſo that to prevent his proceeding to ſome deſperate extremity, the Elector and Maurice promiſed that they would not quit the Emperor, until, by the frequency and fervour of their importunity, they had extorted his conſent to ſet him free. They accordingly renewed their ſolicitations a few days afterwards, but found Charles more haughty and intractable than before, and were warned that if they touched again upon a ſubject ſo diſagreeable, and with regard to which he had determined to hear nothing farther, he would inſtantly give orders to convey the priſoner into Spain. Afraid of hurting the Landgrave by an officious or ill-timed zeal to ſerve him, they not only deſiſted, but left the court, and as they did not chuſe to meet the firſt ſallies of the Landgrave's rage upon his learning the cauſe of their departure, they informed him of it by a letter, wherein they exhorted him to fulfil all that he had promiſed to the Emperor, as the moſt certain means of procuring a ſpeedy releaſe.

His impatience under reſtraint.

WHATEVER violent emotions their abandoning his cauſe in this manner occaſioned, the Landgrave's impatience to recover liberty made him follow their advice. He paid the ſum which had been impoſed on him, ordered his

fortreſſes

fortreſſes to be razed, and renounced all alliances that could give offence. This prompt compliance with the will of the conqueror produced no effect. He was ſtill guarded with the ſame vigilant ſeverity; and being carried about, together with the degraded Elector of Saxony, wherever the Emperor went, their diſgrace and his triumph was each day renewed. The fortitude as well as equanimity, with which the Elector bore theſe repeated inſults, were not more remarkable than the Landgrave's fretfulneſs and impatience. His active impetuous mind could ill brook reſtraint; and reflection upon the ſhameful artifices by which he had been decoyed into that ſituation, as well as indignation at the injuſtice with which he was ſtill detained in it, drove him often to the wildeſt exceſſes of paſſion.

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The rigour of the Emperor's exactions in Germany.

THE people of the different cities, to whom Charles thus wantonly expoſed theſe illuſtrious priſoners as a public ſpectacle, were ſenſibly touched with ſuch an inſult offered to the Germanic body, and murmured loudly at this indecent treatment of two of its greateſt Princes. They had ſoon other cauſes of complaint, and ſuch as affected them more nearly. Charles proceeded to add oppreſſion to inſult, and arrogating to himſelf all the rights of a conqueror, exerciſed them with the utmoſt rigour. He ordered

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dered his troops to ſeize the artillery and military ſtores belonging to ſuch as had been members of the Smalkaldic league, and having collected upwards of five hundred pieces of cannon, a great number in that age, he ſent part of them into the Low-Countries, part into Italy, and part into Spain, in order to ſpread by this means the fame of his ſucceſs, and that they might ſerve as monuments of his having ſubdued a nation, hitherto deemed invincible. He then levied, by his ſole authority, large ſums as well upon thoſe who had ſerved him with fidelity during the war, as upon ſuch as had been in arms againſt him; upon the former, as their contingent towards a war, which having been undertaken, as he pretended, for the common benefit, ought to be carried on at the common charge; upon the latter, as a fine by way of puniſhment for their rebellion. By theſe exactions he amaſſed above one million ſix hundred thouſand crowns, a ſum which appeared prodigious in the ſixteenth century. But ſo general was the conſternation which had ſeized the Germans upon his rapid ſucceſs, and ſuch their dread of his victorious troops, that all implicitly obeyed his commands; though, at the ſame time, theſe extraordinary ſtretches of power greatly alarmed a people, jealous of their privileges, and habituated during ſeveral ages to conſider the Imperial authority as neither extenſive

tenſive nor formidable. This diſcontent and reſentment, how induſtriouſly ſoever they concealed them, became univerſal; and the more theſe paſſions were reſtrained and kept down for the preſent, the more likely were they to burſt out ſoon with additional violence.

Ferdinand's encroachments on the liberties of his Bohemian ſubjects.

WHILE Charles gave law to the Germans like a conquered people, Ferdinand treated his ſubjects in Bohemia with ſtill greater rigour. That kingdom poſſeſſed privileges and immunities as extenſive as thoſe of any nation in which the feudal inſtitutions were eſtabliſhed. The prerogative of their Kings was extremely limited, and the crown itſelf elective. Ferdinand, when placed on the throne, had confirmed their liberties with every ſolemnity preſcribed by their exceſſive ſolicitude for the ſecurity of a conſtitution of government to which they were extremely attached. He ſoon began, however, to be weary of a juriſdiction ſo much circumſcribed, and to deſpiſe a ſceptre which he could not tranſmit to his poſterity; and notwithſtanding all his former engagements, he attempted to overturn the conſtitution from its foundations; that inſtead of an elective kingdom he might render it hereditary. But the Bohemians ſeemed to be reſolved not to relinquiſh, tamely, privileges which they had long enjoyed. At the ſame time, many of them having embraced the

doctrines

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doctrines of the Reformers, the seeds of which John Huſs and Jerome of Prague had planted in their country about the beginning of the preceding century, the deſire of acquiring religious liberty mingled itſelf with their zeal for their civil rights; and theſe two kindred paſſions heightening, as uſual, each other's force, precipitated them immediately into violent meaſures. They had not only refuſed to ſerve their ſovereign againſt the confederates of Smalkalde, but having entered into a cloſe alliance with the Elector of Saxony, they had bound themſelves, by a ſolemn aſſociation, to defend their ancient conſtitution; and to perſiſt, until they ſhould obtain ſuch additional grants as they thought neceſſary towards perfecting the preſent model of their government, or rendering it more permanent. They choſe Caſpar Phlug, a nobleman of diſtinction, to be their general; and raiſed an army of thirty thouſand men to enforce their petitions. But either from the weakneſs of their leader, or from the diſſenſions in a great unwieldy body, which, having united haſtily, was not thoroughly compacted, or from ſome other unknown cauſe, the ſubſequent operations of the Bohemians bore no proportion to the zeal and ardour with which they took their firſt reſolutions. They ſuffered themſelves to be amuſed ſo long with negociations and overtures of different kinds, that before they could enter

Saxony,

Saxony, the battle of Muhlberg was fought, the Elector deprived of his dignity and territories, the Landgrave confined to close custody, and the league of Smalkalde entirely dissipated. The same dread of the Emperor's power which had seized the rest of the Germans, reached them. As soon as their sovereign approached with a body of Imperial troops, they instantly dispersed, thinking of nothing but how to atone for their past guilt, and to acquire some hope of forgiveness, by a prompt submission. But Ferdinand, who entered his dominions full of that implacable resentment which inflames Monarchs whose authority has been despised, was not to be mollified by the late repentance and involuntary return of rebellious subjects to their duty. He even heard, unmoved, the intreaties and tears of the citizens of Prague, who appeared before him in the posture of suppliants, and implored for mercy. The sentence which he pronounced against them was rigorous to extremity; he abolished many of their privileges, he abridged others, and new-modelled the constitution according to his pleasure. He punished many of those who had been most active in forming the late association against him with death, and still a greater number with confiscation of their goods, or perpetual banishment. He obliged all his subjects, of every condition, to give up their arms to be deposited in forts

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where he planted garrifons; and after difarming his people, he loaded them with new and exorbitant taxes. Thus, by an ill-conducted and unfuccefsful effort to extend their privileges, the Bohemians not only enlarged the fphere of the royal prerogative, which they intended to have circumfcribed, but they almoft annihilated thofe liberties which they aimed at eftablifhing on a broader and more fecure foundation [n].

Diet held at Augfburg.

THE Emperor, having now humbled, and, as he imagined, fubdued the independent and ftubborn fpirit of the Germans by the terror of arms and the rigour of punifhment, held a diet at Augfburg, in order to compofe finally the controverfies with regard to religion, which had fo long difturbed the Empire. He durft not, however, truft the determination of a matter fo interefting to the free fuffrage of the Germans, broken as their minds now were to fubjection. He entered the city at the head of his Spanifh troops, and affigned them quarters there. The reft of his foldiers he cantoned in the adjacent villages; fo that the members of the diet, while they carried on their deliberations, were furrounded by the fame army which had overcome their countrymen. Immediately after his public

[n] Sleid. 408, 419, 434. Thuan. l. iv. 129, 150. Struv. Corp. ii.

entry, Charles gave a proof of the violence with which he intended to proceed. He took possession by force of the cathedral, together with one of the principal churches; and his priests having, by various ceremonies, purified them from the pollution with which they supposed the unhallowed ministrations of the Protestants to have defiled them, they re-established with great pomp the rites of the Romish worship [o]. Book IX. 1547.

The Emperor exhorts them to submit to the General Council.

THE concourse of members to this diet was extraordinary; the importance of the affairs concerning which it was to deliberate, added to the fear of giving offence to the Emperor by an absence which lay open to misconstruction, brought together almost all the Princes, nobles, and representatives of cities who had right to sit in that assembly. The Emperor, in the speech with which he opened the meeting, called their attention immediately to that point, which seemed chiefly to merit it. Having mentioned the fatal effects of the religious dissensions which had arisen in Germany, and taken notice of his own unwearied endeavours to procure a general council, which alone could provide a remedy adequate to these evils, he exhorted them to recognize its authority, and to stand to the award of an assembly, to which they had origi-

[o] Sleid. 435, 437.

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nally appealed, as having the ſole right of judgment in the caſe.

Various revolutions in the council.

But the council, to which Charles wiſhed them to refer all their controverſies, had, by this time, undergone a violent change. The fear and jealouſy, with which the Emperor's firſt ſucceſſes againſt the confederates of Smalkalde had inſpired the Pope, continued to encreaſe. Not ſatisfied with attempting to retard the progreſs of the Imperial arms, by the ſudden recal of his troops, Paul began to conſider the Emperor as an enemy, the weight of whoſe power he muſt ſoon feel, and againſt whom he could not be too haſty in taking precautions. He foreſaw that the immediate effect of the Emperor's acquiring abſolute power in Germany, would be to render him entirely maſter of all the deciſions of the council, if it ſhould continue to meet in Trent. It was dangerous to allow a Monarch, ſo ambitious, to get the command of this formidable engine, which he might employ at pleaſure to limit or overturn the papal authority. As the only method of preventing this, he determined to tranſlate the council to ſome city more immediately under his own juriſdiction, and at a greater diſtance from the terror of the Emperor's arms, or the reach of his influence. An incident fortunately occurred, which gave this meaſure the appearance of being neceſſary.

One

One or two of the fathers of the council, together with ſome of their domeſtics, happening to die ſuddenly, the phyſicians, deceived by the ſymptoms, or ſuborned by the Pope's legates, pronounced the diſtemper to be infectious and peſtilential. Some of the prelates, ſtruck with a panic, retired; others were impatient to be gone; and after a ſhort conſultation, the council was tranſlated to Bologna, a city ſubject to the Pope. All the biſhops in the Imperial intereſt, warmly oppoſed this reſolution, as taken without neceſſity, and founded on falſe or frivolous pretexts. All the Spaniſh prelates, and moſt of the Neapolitan, by the Emperor's expreſs command, remained at Trent; the reſt, to the number of thirty-four, accompanying the legates to Bologna. Thus a ſchiſm commenced, in that very aſſembly, which had been called to heal the diviſions of Chriſtendom; the fathers of Bologna inveighing againſt thoſe who ſtaid at Trent, as contumacious and regardleſs of the Pope's authority; while the other accuſed them of being ſo far intimidated by the fears of imaginary danger, as to remove to a place where their conſultations could prove of no ſervice towards re-eſtabliſhing peace and order in Germany [q].

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March 11. Tranſlated from Trent to Bologna.

[q] F. Paul, 248, &c.

 THE

Book IX. 1547. Symptoms of difguft between the Pope and Emperor.

The Emperor, at the fame time, employed all his intereft to procure the return of the council to Trent. But Paul, who highly applauded his own fagacity in having taken a ftep which put it out of Charles's power to acquire the direction of that affembly, paid no regard to a requeft, the object of which was fo extremely obvious. The fummer was confumed in fruitlefs negociations with refpect to this point, the importunity of the one and the obftinacy of the other daily increafing. At laft an event happened which widened the breach irreparably, and rendered the Pope utterly averfe from liftening to any propofal that came from the Emperor. Charles, as has been already obferved, had fo violently exafperated Peter Lewis Farnefe, the Pope's fon, by refufing to grant him the inveftiture of Parma and Placentia, that he had watched ever fince that time with all the vigilance of refentment for an opportunity of revenging that injury. He had endeavoured to precipitate his father into open hoftilities againft the Emperor, and had earneftly folicited the King of France to invade Italy. His hatred and refentment extended to all thofe whom he knew that the Emperor favoured; he perfecuted Gonzaga, governor of Milan, with ill offices, and had encouraged Fiefco in his attempt upon the life of Andrew Doria, becaufe both Gonzaga and Doria poffeffed a great degree of the Emperor's

peror's esteem and confidence. His malevolence and secret intrigues were not unknown to the Emperor, who could not be more desirous to take vengeance on him, than Gonzaga and Doria were to be employed as his instruments in inflicting it. Farnese, by the profligacy of his life, and by enormities of every kind, equal to those committed by the worst tyrants who have disgraced human nature, had rendered himself so odious, that they thought any violence whatever might be attempted against him. They soon found among his own subjects, persons who were eager, and even deemed it meritorious to lend their hands in such a service. As he, animated with the jealousy which usually possesses petty sovereigns, had employed all the cruelty and fraud, whereby they endeavour to supply their defect of power, in order to humble and extirpate the nobility subject to his government, five noblemen of the greatest distinction in Placentia, combined to avenge the injuries, which they themselves had suffered, as well as those which he had offered to their order. They formed their plan in conjunction with Gonzaga; but it remains uncertain whether he originally suggested the scheme to them, or only approved of what they proposed, and co-operated in carrying it on. They concerted all the previous steps with such foresight, conducted their intrigues

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The assassination of the Pope's son.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

Book IX. 1547. with ſuch ſecrecy, and diſplayed ſuch courage in the execution of their deſign, that it may be ranked among the moſt audacious deeds of that Sept. 10. nature mentioned in hiſtory. One body of the conſpirators ſurprized, at mid-day, the gates of the citadel of Placentia where Farneſe reſided, overpowered his guards, and murdered him. Another party of them made themſelves maſters of the town, and called upon their fellow-citizens to take arms, in order to re-aſſume their liberty. The multitude ran towards the citadel, from which three great guns, a ſignal concerted with Gonzaga, had been fired; and before they could gueſs the cauſe or the authors of the tumult, they ſaw the lifeleſs body of the tyrant hanging by the heels from one of the windows of the citadel. But ſo univerſally deteſtable had he become, that not one expreſſed any ſentiment of concern at ſuch a ſad reverſe of fortune, or of indignation at this ignominious treatment of a ſovereign Prince. The exultation at the ſucceſs of the conſpiracy was general, and all applauded the actors in it, as the deliverers of their country. The body was tumbled into the ditch that ſurrounded the citadel, and expoſed to the inſults of the rabble; the reſt of the citizens returned to their uſual occupations, as if nothing extraordinary had happened.

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The Imperial troops take possession of Placentia.

BEFORE next morning, a body of troops arriving from the frontiers of the Milanese, where they had been posted in expectation of the event, took possession of the city in the Emperor's name, and reinstated the inhabitants in the possession of their ancient privileges. Parma, which the Imperialists attempted likewise to surprize, was saved by the vigilance and fidelity of the officers whom Farnese had intrusted with the command of the garrison. The death of a son whom, notwithstanding his infamous vices, Paul loved with an excess of parental tenderness, overwhelmed him with the deepest affliction; and the loss of a city, of such consequence as Placentia, greatly embittered his sorrow. He accused Gonzaga, in open consistory, of having committed a cruel murder, in order to prepare the way for an unjust usurpation, and immediately demanded of the Emperor satisfaction for both; for the former, by the punishment of Gonzaga; for the latter, by the restitution of Placentia to his grandson Octavia, its rightful owner. But Charles, who, rather than quit a prize of such value, was willing to expose himself to the imputation of being accessary to the crime which had given an opportunity of seizing it, and to bear the infamy of defrauding his own son-in-law of the inheritance which belonged to him, eluded all his solicitations, and

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determined to keep possession of the city, together with its territories [q].

The Pope courts the alliance of the French King and the Venetians.

This resolution, flowing from an ambition so rapacious, as to be restrained by no consideration either of decency or justice, transported the Pope so far beyond his usual moderation and caution, that he was eager to take arms against the Emperor in order to be avenged on the murderers of his son, and to recover the inheritance wrested from his family. Conscious, however, of his own inability to contend with such an enemy, he warmly solicited the French King and the republic of Venice to join in an offensive league against Charles. But Henry was intent at that time on other objects. His ancient allies the Scots, having been defeated by the English in one of the greatest battles ever fought between these two rival nations, he was about to send a numerous body of veteran troops into that country, as well to preserve it from being conquered, as to gain the acquisition of a new kingdom to the French monarchy, by marrying his son the Dauphin to the young Queen of Scotland. An undertaking accompanied with such manifest advantages, the success of which appeared to be so certain, was not to be relin-

[q] F. Paul, 257. Pallavic. 41, 42. Thuan. iv. 156. Mem. de Ribier, 59, 67. Natalis Comitis Histor. lib. iii. p. 64.

quished

quiſhed for the remote proſpect of benefit from an alliance depending upon the precarious life of a Pope of fourſcore, who had nothing at heart but the gratification of his own private reſentment. Inſtead, therefore, of ruſhing headlong into the alliance propoſed, Henry amuſed the Pope with ſuch general profeſſions and promiſes, as might keep him from any thoughts of endeavouring to accommodate his differences with the Emperor, but at the ſame time avoided any ſuch engagement as might occaſion an immediate rupture between Charles and himſelf, or precipitate him into a war for which he was not prepared. The Venetians, though much alarmed at ſeeing Placentia in the hands of the Imperialiſts, imitated the wary conduct of the French King, which nearly reſembled the ſpirit with which they themſelves uſually carried on their negociations [r].

The diet of Augſburg petitions for the return of the council to Trent.

But, though the Pope found that it was not in his power to kindle immediately the flames of war, he did not forget the injuries, which he was obliged for the preſent to endure; reſentment ſettled deeper in his mind, and became more rancorous in proportion as he felt the difficulty of gratifying it. It was, while theſe ſen-

[r] Mem. de Ribier, ii. 63, 71, 78, 85, 95. Paruta Iſtor. di Venez. 199, 203. Thuan. iv. 160.

timents

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timents of enmity were in full force, and the desire of vengeance at its height, that the diet of Augsburg, by the Emperor's command, petitioned the Pope, in name of the whole Germanic body, to enjoin the prelates who had retired to Bologna, to return again to Trent, and to renew their deliberations in that place. Charles had been at great pains in bringing the members to join in this request. Having observed a considerable variety of sentiments among the Protestants with respect to the submission which he had required to the decrees of the council, some of them being altogether intractable, while others were ready to acknowledge its right of jurisdiction upon certain conditions, he employed all his address in order to gain or to divide them. He threatened and over-awed the Elector Palatine, a weak Prince, and obnoxious to vengeance on account of the assistance which he had given to the confederates of Smalkalde. The hope of procuring liberty for the Landgrave, together with the formal confirmation of his own electoral dignity, overcame Maurice's scruples, or prevented him from opposing what he knew would be agreeable to the Emperor. The Elector of Brandenburg, less influenced by religious zeal than any Prince of that age, was easily induced to imitate their example, in assenting to all that the Emperor required. The deputies of the cities remained still to be brought over.

They

They were more tenacious of their principles, and though every thing that could operate either on their hopes or fears was tried, the utmoſt that they would promiſe was, to acknowledge the juriſdiction of the council, if effectual proviſion were made for ſecuring to the divines of all parties free acceſs to that aſſembly, with entire liberty of debate; and if all points in controverſy were decided according to ſcripture and the uſage of the primitive church. But when the memorial containing this declaration was preſented to the Emperor, he ventured to put in practice a very extraordinary artifice. Without reading the paper, or taking any notice of the conditions on which they had inſiſted, he ſeemed to take it for granted that they had complied with his demand, and gave thanks to the deputies for their full and unreſerved ſubmiſſion to the decrees of the council. The deputies, though aſtoniſhed at what they had heard, did not attempt to ſet him right, both parties being better pleaſed that the matter ſhould remain under this ſtate of ambiguity, than to puſh for an explanation, which muſt have occaſioned a diſpute, and would have led, perhaps, to a rupture [s].

Oct. 29.

The Pope eludes the demand.

Having obtained this ſeeming ſubmiſſion from the members of the diet to the authority of

[s] F. Paul, 259. Sleid. 440. Thuan. tom. i. 155.

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of the council, Charles employed that as an argument to enforce their petition for its return to Trent. But the Pope, from the ſatisfaction of mortifying the Emperor, as well as from his own averſion to what was demanded, reſolved without heſitation, that this petition ſhould be rejected; though, in order to avoid the imputation of being influenced wholly by reſentment, he had the addreſs to throw it upon the fathers at Bologna, to put a direct negative upon the requeſt. He referred to their conſideration the petition of the diet, and they, ready to confirm by their aſſent whatever the legates were pleaſed to dictate, declared that the council could not, in conſiſtence with its dignity, return to Trent, unleſs the prelates who, by remaining there, had diſcovered a ſchiſmatic ſpirit, would firſt repair to Bologna, and join their brethren; and that, even after their junction, the council could not renew its conſultations with any proſpect of benefit to the church, if the Germans did not prove their intention of obeying its future decrees to be ſincere, by yielding immediate obedience to thoſe which it had already paſt[t].

Dec. 20.

The Emperor proteſts againſt the council of Bologna.

THIS anſwer was communicated to the Emperor by the Pope, who at the ſame time exhorted him to comply with demands that appeared to

[t] F. Paul, 250. Pallav. ii. 49.

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be so reasonable. But Charles was better acquainted with the duplicity of the Pope's character than to be deceived by such a gross artifice; he knew that the prelates of Bologna durst utter no sentiment but what Paul inspired; and, therefore, overlooking them as mere instruments in the hand of another, he considered their reply as a full discovery of the Pope's intentions. As he could no longer hope to acquire such an ascendant in the council as to render it subservient to his own plan, he saw it to be necessary that Paul should not have it in his power to turn against him the authority of so venerable an assembly. In order to prevent this, he sent two Spanish lawyers to Bologna, who, in the presence of the legates, protested, That the translation of the council to that place had been unnecessary, and founded on false or frivolous pretexts; that while it continued to meet there, it ought to be deemed an unlawful and schismatical conventicle; that all its decisions ought of course to be held as null and invalid; and that as the Pope, together with the corrupt ecclesiastics who depended on him, had abandoned the care of the church, the Emperor, as its protector, would employ all the power which God had committed to him, in order to preserve it from those calamities with which it was threatened. A few days after, the Imperial ambassador at Rome demanded an audience of the Pope, and in

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in presence of all the Cardinals, as well as foreign ministers, protested against the proceedings of the prelates at Bologna, in terms equally harsh and disrespectful[u].

The Emperor prepares a system, to serve as the rule of faith in Germany.

It was not long before Charles proceeded to carry these threats, which greatly alarmed both the Pope and council at Bologna, into execution. He let the diet know the ill success of his endeavours to procure a favourable answer to their petition, and that the Pope, equally regardless of their entreaties, and of his services to the church, had refused to gratify them by allowing the council to meet again at Trent; that, though all hope of holding this assembly in a place, where they might look for freedom of debate and judgment, was not to be given up, the prospect of it was, at present, distant and uncertain; that, in the mean time, Germany was torn in pieces by religious dissensions, the purity of the faith corrupted, and the minds of the people disquieted with a multiplicity of new opinions and controversies formerly unknown among Christians; that, moved by the duty which he owed to them as their sovereign, and to the Church as its protector, he had employed some divines, of known abilities and

[u] F. Paul, 264. Pallav. 51. Sleid. 446. Goldasti Constit. Imperial. i. 561.

learning, to prepare a ſyſtem of doctrine, to which all ſhould conform, until a council, ſuch as they wiſhed-for, could be convocated. This ſyſtem was compiled by Pflug, Helding and Agricola, of whom the two former were dignitaries in the Romiſh church, but remarkable for their pacific and healing ſpirit; the laſt was a Proteſtant divine, ſuſpected, not without reaſon, of having been gained by bribes and promiſes, to betray or miſlead his party on this occaſion. The articles preſented to the diet of Ratiſbon in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-one, in order to reconcile the contending parties, ſerved as a model for the preſent work. But as the Emperor's ſituation was much changed ſince that time, and he found it no longer neceſſary to manage the Proteſtants with the ſame delicacy as at that juncture, the conceſſions in their favour were not now ſo numerous, nor did they extend to points of ſo much conſequence. The treatiſe contained a complete ſyſtem of theology, conformable in almoſt every article to the tenets of the Romiſh church, though expreſſed, for the moſt part, in the ſofteſt words, or in ſcriptural phraſes, or in terms of ſtudied ambiguity. Every doctrine, however, peculiar to Popery, was retained; and all the rites, which the Proteſtants condemned as inventions of men introduced into the worſhip of

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of God, were enjoined. With regard to two points only, ſome relaxation of their rigour was granted, and ſome latitude in practice admitted. Such eccleſiaſtics as had married, and would not put away their wives, were allowed, nevertheleſs, to perform all the functions of their ſacred office; and thoſe provinces which had been accuſtomed to partake of the cup, as well as of the bread in the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, were ſtill indulged the privilege of receiving both. Even theſe were declared to be conceſſions for the ſake of peace, and granted only for a ſeaſon, in compliance with the weakneſs or prejudices of their countrymen [x].

This, which was called the *Interim*, he lays before the diet, May 15.

THIS ſyſtem of doctrine, known afterwards by the name of the *Interim*, becauſe it contained temporary regulations, which were to continue no longer in force than until a free general council could be held, the Emperor preſented to the diet, with a pompous declaration of his ſincere intention to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity and order in the church, as well as of his hopes that their adopting theſe regulations would contribute greatly to bring about that deſirable event. It was read in preſence, according to form. As ſoon as it was finiſhed, the archbiſhop of Mentz,

[x] F. Paul, 270. Pallav. ii. 60. Sleid. 453, 457. Struv. Corp. 1054. Goldaſt. Conſtit. Imper. i. 518.

president of the electoral college, rose up hastily, and having thanked the Emperor for his unwearied and pious endeavours in order to restore peace to the church, he, in name of the diet, signified their approbation of the system of doctrine which he had prepared, together with their resolution of conforming to it in every particular. The whole assembly was amazed at a declaration so unprecedented and unconstitutional, as well as at the Elector's presumption in pretending to deliver the sense of the diet, upon a point, which had not hitherto been the subject of consultation or debate. But not one member had the courage to contradict what the Elector had said; some being overawed by fear, others remaining silent through complaisance. The Emperor held the archbishop's declaration to be a full constitutional ratification of the Interim, and prepared to enforce the observance of it, as a decree of the Empire [y].

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and extorts their approbation of it.

DURING this diet, the wife and children of the Landgrave, warmly seconded by Maurice of Saxony, endeavoured to interest the members in behalf of that unhappy Prince, who still languished in confinement. But Charles, who did not chuse to be brought under the necessity of rejecting any request that came from such a respectable

New and fruitless solicitations for the Landgrave's liberty.

[y] Sleid. 460. F. Paul, 273. Pallav. 63.

 body,

Book IX. 1548. body, in order to prevent their repreſentations, laid before the diet an account of his tranſactions with the Landgrave, together with the motives which had at firſt induced him to detain that Prince in cuſtody, and which rendered it prudent, as he alleged, to keep him ſtill under reſtraint. It was no eaſy matter to give any good reaſon for an action, incapable of being juſtified. But he thought the moſt frivolous pretexts might be produced in an aſſembly willing to be deceived, and afraid of nothing ſo much as to diſcover that it ſaw his conduct in its true colours. His account of his own conduct was accordingly admitted to be fully ſatisfactory, and after ſome feeble intreaties that he would extend his clemency to his unfortunate priſoner, the Landgrave's concerns were no more mentioned [z].

In order to counterbalance the unfavourable impreſſion which this inflexible rigour might leave in their minds, Charles, as a proof that his gratitude was no leſs permanent and unchangeable than his reſentment, inveſted Maurice in the electoral dignity, with all the legal formalities. The ceremony was performed, with extraordinary pomp, in an open court, ſo near the apartment in which the degraded Elector was kept a priſoner, that he could view it

[z] Sleid. 441.

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from his windows. Even this inſult did not ruffle his uſual tranquillity; and turning his eyes that way, he beheld a proſperous rival receiving thoſe enſigns of dignity of which he had been ſtripped, without uttering one ſentiment unbecoming the fortitude which he had preſerved amidſt all his calamities [a]. Book IX. 1548.

The Interim equally diſapproved of by Proteſtants and Papiſts.

IMMEDIATELY after the diſſolution of the diet, the Emperor ordered the Interim to be publiſhed in the German as well as Latin language. It met with the uſual reception of conciliating ſchemes, when propoſed to men heated with diſputation; both parties declaimed againſt it with equal violence. The Proteſtants condemned it as a ſyſtem containing the groſſeſt errors of Popery, diſguiſed with ſo little art, that it could impoſe only on the moſt ignorant, or on thoſe who by wilfully ſhutting their eyes favoured the deception. The Papiſts inveighed againſt it, as a work in which ſome doctrines of the church were impiouſly given up, others meanly concealed, and all of them delivered in terms calculated rather to deceive the unwary, than to inſtruct the ignorant, or to reclaim ſuch as were enemies to the truth. While the Lutheran divines fiercely attacked it, on one hand, the general of the Do-

[a] Thuan. Hiſt. lib. v, 176. Struv. Corp. 1054. Inveſtitura Mauritii a Mammerano Lucemburgo deſcripta ap. Scardium, ii. 508.

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minicans with no leſs vehemence impugned it, on the other. But at Rome, as ſoon as the contents of the Interim came to be known, the indignation of the courtiers and eccleſiaſtics roſe to the greateſt height. They exclaimed againſt the Emperor's profane encroachment on the ſacerdotal function, in preſuming, with the concurrence of an aſſembly of laymen, to define articles of faith, and to regulate modes of worſhip. They compared this raſh deed to that of Uzzah, who, with an unhallowed hand, had touched the ark of God; or to the bold attempts of thoſe Emperors, who had rendered their memory deteſtable, by endeavouring to model the Chriſtian church according to their pleaſure. They even affected to find out a reſemblance between the Emperor's conduct and that of Henry VIII. and expreſſed their fear of his imitating the example of that Monarch, by uſurping the title as well as juriſdiction belonging to the head of the church. All, therefore, contended with one voice, that as the foundations of eccleſiaſtical authority were now ſhaken, and the whole fabric ready to be overturned by a new enemy, ſome powerful method of defence muſt be provided, and a vigorous reſiſtance muſt be made, at the beginning, before he grew too formidable to be oppoſed.

The sentiments of the Pope with regard to it.

The Pope, whose judgment was improved by longer experience in great transactions, as well as by a more extensive observation of human affairs, viewed the matter with more acute discernment, and derived comfort from the very circumstance which filled them with apprehension. He was astonished, that a Prince of such superior sagacity as the Emperor, should be so intoxicated with a single victory, as to imagine that he might give law to mankind, and decide even in those matters, with regard to which they are most impatient of dominion. He saw that, by joining any one of the contending parties in Germany, Charles might have had it in his power to have oppressed the other, but that the presumption of success had now inspired him with the vain thought of his being able to domineer over both. He foretold that a system which all attacked, and none defended, could not be of long duration; and that, for this reason, there was no need of his interposing in order to hasten its fall; for as soon as the powerful hand which now upheld it was withdrawn, it would sink of its own accord, and be forgotten for ever [b].

The Emperor enforces compliance with the Interim.

The Emperor, fond of his own plan, adhered to his resolution of carrying it into full execu-

[b] Sleid. 468. F. Paul, 271, 277. Pallav. ii. 64.

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tion. But though the Elector Palatine, the Elector of Brandenburg, and Maurice, influenced by the ſame conſiderations as formerly, ſeemed ready to yield implicit obedience to whatever he ſhould enjoin, he met not every where with a like obſequious ſubmiſſion. John Marquis of Brandenburg Anſpach, although he had taken part with great zeal in the war againſt the confederates of Smalkalde, refuſed to renounce doctrines which he held to be ſacred; and reminding the Emperor of the repeated promiſes which he had given his Proteſtant allies of allowing them the free exerciſe of their religion, he claimed, in conſequence of theſe, to be exempted from receiving the Interim. Some other Princes, alſo, ventured to mention the ſame ſcruples, and to plead the ſame indulgence. But on this, as on other trying occaſions, the firmneſs of the Elector of Saxony was moſt diſtinguiſhed, and merited the higheſt praiſe. Charles, well knowing the authority of his example with all the Proteſtant party, laboured, with the utmoſt earneſtneſs, to gain his approbation of the Interim, and by employing ſometimes promiſes of ſetting him at liberty, ſometimes threats of treating him with greater harſhneſs, attempted alternately to work upon his hopes and his fears. But he was alike regardleſs of both. After having declared his fixed belief in the doctrines of the Reformation,

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"I cannot now, said he, in my old age, abandon the principles, for which I early contended; nor, in order to procure freedom during a few declining years, will I betray that good cause, on account of which I have suffered so much, and am still willing to suffer. Better for me to enjoy, in this solitude, the esteem of virtuous men, together with the approbation of my own conscience, than to return into the world, with the imputation and guilt of apostacy, to disgrace and embitter the remainder of my days." By this magnanimous resolution, he set his countrymen a pattern of conduct, so very different from that which the Emperor wished him to have exhibited to them, that it drew upon him fresh marks of his displeasure. The rigour of his confinement was increased; the number of his servants abridged; the Lutheran clergymen, who had hitherto been permitted to attend him, were dismissed; and even the books of devotion, which had been his chief consolation during a tedious imprisonment, were taken from him[c]. The Landgrave of Hesse, his companion in misfortune, did not maintain the same constancy. His patience and fortitude were both so much exhausted by the length of his confinement, that, willing to purchase freedom at any price, he wrote to the Emperor, offering not only to approve of the Interim, but to yield an

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[c] Sleid. 462.

unreserved

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unreserved submission to his will in every other particular. But Charles who knew, that what course soever the Landgrave might hold, neither his example nor authority would prevail on his children or subjects to receive the Interim, paid no regard to his offers. He was kept confined as strictly as ever; and while he suffered the cruel mortification of having his conduct set in contrast to that of the Elector, he derived not the smallest benefit from the mean step which exposed him to such deserved censure[d].

The free cities struggle against receiving the Interim.

But it was in the Imperial cities that Charles met with the most violent opposition to the Interim. These small commonwealths, the citizens of which were accustomed to liberty and independence, had embraced the doctrines of the Reformation when first published with remarkable eagerness; the bold spirit of innovation being peculiarly suited to the genius of free government. Among them, the Protestant teachers had made the greatest number of proselytes. The most eminent divines of the party were settled there as pastors. By having the direction of the schools and other seminaries of learning, they had trained up disciples as well instructed in the articles of their faith, as zealous to defend them. Such persons were not to

[d] Sleid. 462.

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be guided by example, or ſwayed by authority; but having been taught to examine and to decide in matters of controverſy, thought that they were both qualified and entitled to judge for themſelves. As ſoon as the contents of the Interim were known, they, with one voice, joined in refuſing to admit it. Straſburg, Conſtance, Bremen, Magdeburgh, together with many other towns of leſs note, preſented remonſtrances to the Emperor, ſetting forth the irregular and unconſtitutional manner in which the Interim had been enacted, and beſeeching him not to offer ſuch violence to their conſciences, as to require their aſſent to a form of doctrine and worſhip, which appeared to them repugnant to the expreſs precepts of the divine law. But Charles, having prevailed on ſo many Princes of the Empire to approve of his new model, was not much moved by the repreſentations of theſe cities, which, how formidable ſoever they might have proved if they could have been formed into one body, lay ſo remote from each other, that it was eaſy to oppreſs them ſeparately, before it was poſſible for them to unite. Book IX. 1548.

In order to accompliſh this, the Emperor ſaw it to be requiſite that his meaſures ſhould be vigorous, and executed with ſuch rapidity as to allow no time for concerting any common plan of oppoſition. Having laid down this maxim Compelled by violence to ſubmit.

as

Book IX. 1548. as the rule of his proceedings, his firſt attempt was upon the city of Augſburg, which, though overawed by the preſence of the Spaniſh troops, he knew to be as much diſſatisfied with the Interim as any in the Empire. He ordered one body of theſe troops to ſeize the gates; he poſted the reſt in different quarters of the city; and Aug. 3. aſſembling all the burgeſſes in the town, he, by his ſole abſolute authority, publiſhed a decree, aboliſhing their preſent form of government, diſſolving all their corporations and fraternities, and nominating a ſmall number of perſons, in whom he veſted for the future the right of adminiſtration. Each of the perſons, thus choſen, took an oath to obſerve the Interim. An act of power, ſo unprecedented as well as arbitrary, which excluded the body of the inhabitants from any ſhare in the government of their own community, and ſubjected them to men who had no other merit than their ſervile devotion to the Emperor's will, gave general diſguſt; but as they durſt not venture upon reſiſtance, they were obliged to ſubmit in ſilence[c]. From Augſburg, in which he left a garriſon, he proceeded to Ulm, and new modelling its government with the ſame violent hand, he ſeized ſuch of their paſtors as refuſed to ſubſcribe the Interim, committed them to priſon, and at his departure car-

[c] Sleid. 469.

ried them along with him in chains[f]. By this severity, he not only secured the reception of the Interim in two of the most powerful cities, but gave warning to the rest what such as continued refractory had to expect. The effect of the example was as great as he could have wished, and many towns, in order to save themselves from the like vengeance, found it necessary to comply with what he enjoined. This obedience, extorted by the rigour of authority, produced no change in the sentiments of the Germans, and extended no farther than to make them conform so far to the letter of the law, as was barely sufficient to screen them from punishment. Their preachers accompanied those ceremonies, the observation of which the Interim prescribed, with such an explication of their tendency, as served rather to confirm than to remove the scruples of their hearers with regard to them. The people, many of whom had grown up to mature years since the establishment of the reformed religion, and had been accustomed to no other form of public worship, beheld the pompous pageantry of the popish service with contempt or horror; and in most places the Romish ecclesiastics, who returned to take possession of their churches, could hardly be protected from insult, or their ministrations from interruption. Thus, notwithstanding the

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[f] Sleid. 472.

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apparent compliance of fo many cities, the inhabitants being accuftomed to freedom, fubmitted with reluctance to the power which now oppreffed them. Their underftanding as well as inclination revolted againft the doctrines and rites impofed on them; and though, for the prefent, they concealed their indignation and refentment, it was evident that thefe paffions could not always be kept under reftraint, but would break out at laft in effects proportional to their violence [g].

The Pope difmiffes the Council affembled at Bologna.

CHARLES, meanwhile, highly pleafed with having bended the ftubborn fpirit of the Germans to fuch general fubmiffion, departed for the Low-Countries, fully determined to compel the cities, which ftill ftood out, to receive the Interim. He carried his two prifoners the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heffe along with him, either becaufe he durft not leave them behind him in Germany, or becaufe he wifhed to give his countrymen the Flemings this illuftrious proof of the fuccefs of his arms, and the extent of his power. Before Charles arrived at Sept. 17. Bruffels he was informed that the Pope's legates at Bologna had difmiffed the council by an indefinite prorogation, and that the prelates affembled there had returned to their refpective

[g] Mem. de Ribier, ii. 218. Sleid. 491.

countries.

countries. Neceſſity had driven the Pope into this meaſure. By the ſeceſſion of thoſe who had voted againſt the tranſlation, together with the departure of others, who grew weary of continuing in a place where they were not ſuffered to proceed to buſineſs, ſo few and ſuch inconſiderable members remained, that the pompous appellation of a General Council could not, with decency, be beſtowed any longer upon them. Paul had no choice but to diſſolve an aſſembly which was become the object of contempt, and exhibited to all Chriſtendom a moſt glaring proof of the impotence of the Romiſh See. But unavoidable as the meaſure was, it lay open to be unfavourably interpreted, and had the appearance of withdrawing the remedy at the very time when thoſe for whoſe recovery it was provided, were prevailed on to acknowledge its virtue, and to make trial of its efficacy. Charles did not fail to put this conſtruction on his conduct; and by an artful compariſon of his own efforts to ſuppreſs hereſy, with Paul's ſcandalous inattention to a point ſo eſſential, he endeavoured to render the Pontiff odious to all zealous Catholics. At the ſame time, he commanded the Prelates of his faction to remain at Trent, that the Council might ſtill appear to have a being, and might be ready, whenever it

was

Book IX. was thought expedient, to reſume its deliberations for the good of the church [h].

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The Emperor receives his ſon Philip in the Low-Countries.

THE motive of Charles's journey to the Low-Countries, beſide gratifying his favourite paſſion of travelling from one part of his dominions to another, was to receive Philip his only ſon, who was now in the twenty-firſt year of his age, and whom he had called thither, not only that he might be recognized by the States of the Netherlands as heir-apparent, but in order to facilitate the execution of a vaſt ſcheme, the object of which, and the reception it met with, ſhall be hereafter explained. Philip, having left the government of Spain to Maximilian, Ferdinand's eldeſt ſon, to whom the Emperor had given the Princeſs Mary his daughter in marriage, embarked for Italy attended by a numerous retinue of Spaniſh nobles [i]. The ſquadron which eſcorted him, was commanded by Andrew Doria, who, notwithſtanding his advanced age, inſiſted on the honour of performing, in perſon, the ſame duty to the ſon, which he had often diſcharged towards the father. He landed ſafely at Genoa; from thence he went to Milan, and proceeding through Germany, arrived at the Imperial court in Bruſſels. The States of Brabant, in the firſt place,

Nov. 25.

1549. April 1.

[h] Pallav. p. 11. 72. [i] Ochoa, Carolea, 362.

and

and those of the other provinces in their order, acknowledge his right of succession in common form, and he took the customary oath to preserve all their privileges inviolate [k]. In all the towns of t[illegible] Low-Cour[illegible] through which Philip passed [illegible] ith extraordinary pomp. [illegible] express the respect of the [illegible] ute to his amusement we[illegible] d; [illegible] ants, tournaments, and [illegible] ctacles [illegible] every kind were exh[illegible] expensive magnificence which commercial nations display, when, on any occasion, they depart from their usual maxims of frugality. But amidst these scenes of festivity and pleasure, Philip's natural severity of temper was discernible. Youth itself could could not render him agreeable, nor his being a candidate for power form him to courtesy. He maintained a haughty reserve in his behaviour, and discovered such manifest partiality towards his Spanish attendants, together with such an avowed preference to the manners of their country, as highly disgusted the Flemings, and gave rise to that antipathy, which afterwards occasioned the revolution so fatal to him in that part of his dominions [l].

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[k] Harći. anral. Brabant. 65[illegible].

[l] Mem. de Ribier, ii. 29. L'Evesque Mem. de Card. Granvelle, i. 21.

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Charles was long detained in the Netherlands by a violent attack of the gout, which returned upon him so frequently, and with such increasing violence, that it had broken to a great degree the [illegible] of his [illegible]tion. He, nevertheless, c[illegible]ndeavours to enforce the [illegible]tants of Strasbourg, aft[illegible]und it necessary to give obe[illegible]ance, who had taken arms i[illegible]were compelled by force [illegible] the Interim, but to renounce their pri[illegible] a free city, to do homage to Ferdinand as Archduke of Austria, and, as his vassals, to admit an Austrian governor and garrison [m]. Magdeburg, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck were the only Imperial cities of note that still continued refractory.

[m] Sleid. 474. 491.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.